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ABSTRACT

This booklet explores student rights, presents student and teacher viewpoints, and offers ways to democratize the classroom. Sixteen chapters arranged into four major parts each contain an overview written by Larry Cuban, viewpoints mostly from periodical or book reprints, and other articles pertinent to the major topic. The first overview, Youth as a Minority, discusses the need to halt stereotyping of youth. Nat Henoff summarizes the recent movement for increased student rights and the courts' relationship to that movement. Part II deals with student activism, providing an overview explaining student unrest and dissent. Relationships between teachers and students are examined in Part III, the overview suggesting that when teachers stereotype students the development of a humane relationship between the two is hindered. Three students discuss the strength and weaknesses of their teachers; two teachers involve themselves in a dialogue; a teacher describes his experiences in urban classroom; and suggestions are given on how teachers can break the habit of stereotyping students. The last part offers an overview of changes teachers can make toward humanizing school, viewpoints on student-recommended changes, and a system toward democratic student government. (SJM)

Teaching Social Studies in an Age of Crisis — No. 4

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YOUTH AS A MINORITY

An Anatomy of Student Rights

LARRY CUBAN, Editor

Teaching Social Studies in an Age of Crisis—No. 4

Illustrations by Robert M. Diamond

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ABOUT THE EDITOR

Larry Cuban teaches history at Roosevelt High School in Washington, D.C. He is former director of the Office of Staff Development and the Cardozo Project in Urban Teaching. He is the author of *To Make a Difference: Teaching in the Inner City.* He has also edited *The Black Man in America* and is co-editor of *The Promise of America.*

My thanks to my wife, Barbara, for her constant interest and proofreading skills. Additional appreciation to her, Sondra and Janice for their encouragement, pride and, most important, restraint from dumping all of my papers from the dining room table. Special thanks to Mollie Berch of the Washington, D.C., public schools' history department for rounding up materials for me; and to the Board of Education for my leave of absence to write.—L. C.

PREFACE

Can someone thirty-seven years old write about youth? Is it possible to capture the Pepsi generation and Counter-Culture experience in words? Can a teacher write about young people for other teachers? Silly questions? Perhaps.

Today women legitimately ask whether men can write knowingly of the feminine experience. Blacks angrily condemn whites who write of racial matters. Chicanos condemn Anglos who describe the plight of the Spanish-speaking minority.

And "minority" is the key word. If minority groups question whether outsiders can write of their group, youth—another minority—often raises the same doubt.

My credentials are suspect. I was once a youth but I am not one now. I have taught young people for sixteen years but I am well over thirty. I have two children but I seldom fantasize about reliving my childhood or adolescence. I like beer but I do not smoke pot or swing. Some young people I like but others I dread spending time with. As a rule, I listen carefully when a young person wishes to talk and listen, but I turn others off who stereotype me as just another Teacher, Parent or Adult.

I guess I'm straight. Not as straight, perhaps, as comedienne Joan Rivers who asked: "Who fits in anymore? I was invited to a pot party and I brought Tupperware," but lin-

ear just the same. No better or worse, I suppose, than most adults approaching middle age.

Yet it is to my generation that came of age in the 1950's that today's youth remains such a fascinating subject. Youth today, in the words of a report from a psychiatric group, "are in the position of young princes with a world of pleasure created for them." And to my generation, the psychiatrists' report continues, "it is not the adolescent who envies the adult but the adult who envies the adolescent. The adult may wish to join the colorful, vital and potent world of the adolescent with its freedom from responsibility."* Fascinating objects of envy, it is no wonder that the prolific literature on youth swings from one pole which characterizes the young as unlike any previous generation to the other pole which says that youth today is a mere variation of an old theme. While little unanimity exists concerning what youth is really like, observer after observer notes the diversity of young people in this country and the difficulty of capturing a single prototypical youth.

Yet some writers still crank out two-dimensional caricatures either with long, flowing hair, tinted granny glasses, jeans and scruffy sandals—male and female—or the black activist with an enormous bush, Malcolm X beard, sneer on his face and "honky" on his lips.

Too often the "typical" youths tossed up for the reader or viewer tell more about their creator than about young people. As adults, we invest too often our own fears, envy and dreams into what we perceive as youth.

In short, be alert to what you read here. Given my age, the times we live in, and my experience, I find it tough to write clearly and intelligently about young people. Bear with me while I try, and judge for yourself whether I succeed.

LARRY CUBAN

* Committee on Adolescence, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, *Normal Adolescence* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), p. 83.

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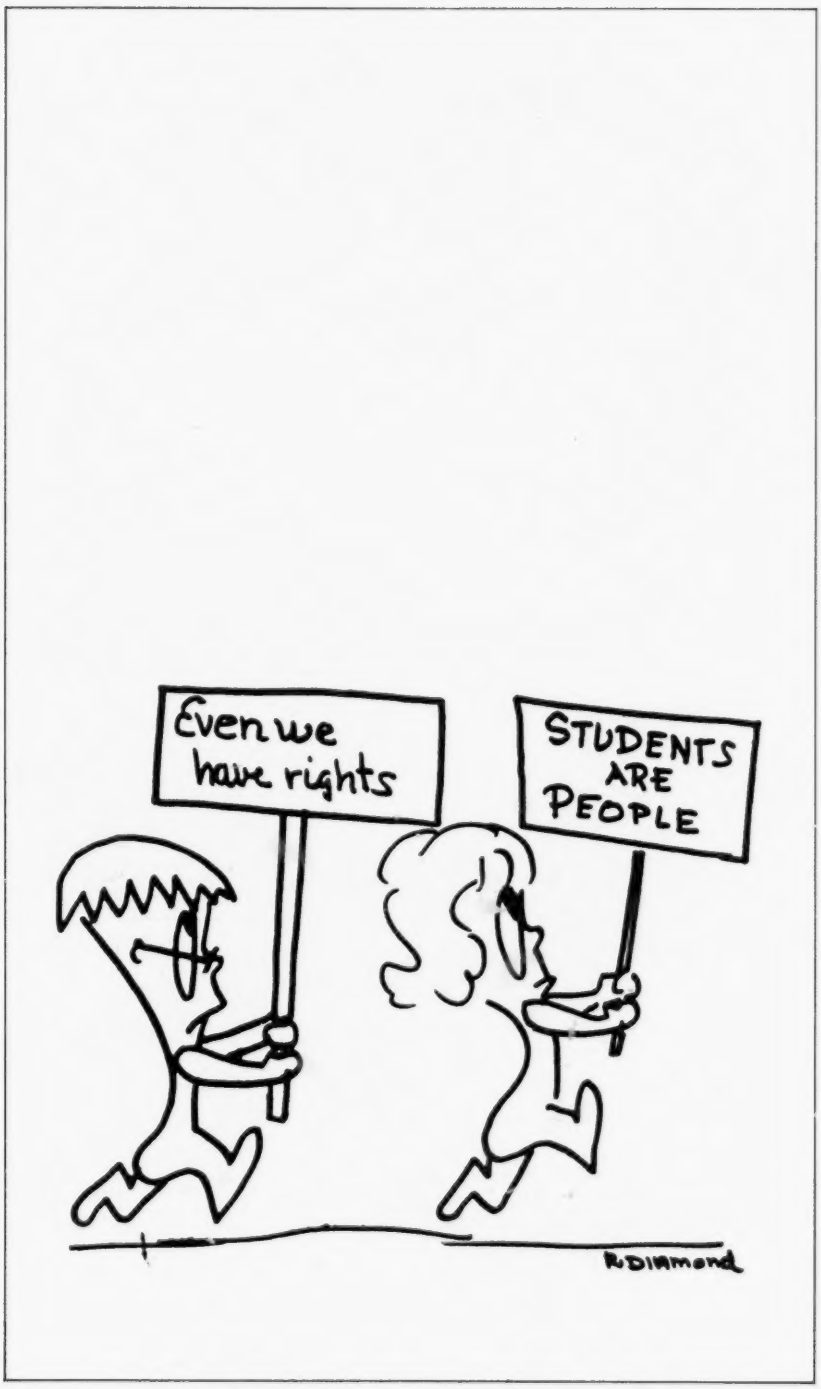

Even we have rights
STUDENTS ARE PEOPLE
R.DIAMond

PART 1

Youth As a Minority

Section 1: *Overview*

YOUTH AS A MINORITY

LARRY CUBAN

QUESTION: What do John Wayne, Bill Cosby, Neil Armstrong and Robert Kennedy have in common?

ANSWER: In a recent national poll, all were chosen as the people most admired by youth.

QUESTION: What do Fidel Castro, Eldridge Cleaver, George Wallace and Ho Chi Minh have in common?

ANSWER: In the same poll, all were chosen as people least admired by youth.[1]

Surprised? I was. Fed on a media diet of Abbie Hoffman, hippies, drug culture, Weathermen and black activists, I had assumed—not unlike many others of my generation—that the choice of heroes would have been different. On some distant Mt. Rushmore, I would have imagined the faces of Timothy Leary, Jerry Rubin and Eldridge Cleaver hewn out of stone.

And that, obviously, is the problem. Our stereotypes fashioned from media and social science literature thrust white, middle-class images upon us. The research that has been done often depended upon mostly white, educated, middle-class young people. They have been, as one professor explained, the center of attention. And for good reason: "they are our kids." And research begat stereotypes.

Exactly what are these images of youth? Consider the labels: Typical Teenager, Rock and Rollers, Joe College, Hoods, Hippies, Freaks, Activists. How simple it is to categorize people! An issue of *Seventeen* once caught my eye in the library. The cover headlined "Activist Students." Images of politically-engaged youth into civil rights, consumer and ecology campaigns flashed through my head. Not so. In that issue the "new activists" were:

TENNIS PLAYER CHRIS EVERT, 17, FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA.

> Once in a while I sacrifice a Saturday night for tennis; when I think of the fulfillment I get from playing, it doesn't seem so bad. Winning a big match builds my self-confidence. Losing? I try to take it gracefully.

MUSICIAN BEVERLY HANSEN, 19, MIDLAND, MICHIGAN.

> Pigtails flying, I ran to my first violin lesson. Eight years later, hair flying, I still run. Music is the universal language and violin's my way to speak it.

DANCER RONDA SAMPSON, 18, NEW YORK CITY.

> Classical ballet was just another one of those things black people weren't supposed to be able to do. Now (we're) proving that wrong.[2]

Images, once fixed, seldom shatter. In a satirical article on youth, Richard Murphy, quoting a bewildered parent's letter, makes the same point in a different way.

> I have a son and daughter who are generally considered to be young, principally because they are twenty-two and nineteen. Aside from that, they are scarcely at all like the young I read about in the newspapers. For one thing, they are silent in a way that is quite different from the way the newspaper young are silent. I know that this is so because not long ago the president of Yale University said in the press that when the young are silent it means they are feeling a "monumental scorn" for political hypocrisy and an impatience to get on with the "unfinished business of the republic." When my son, Willard, Jr., is silent, I am never sure what it means, but I believe that he has his mind considerably on sexual matters and on methods of developing the flexor muscles of his upper arms. My daughter, Felicia, on the other hand, tends to brood about the size and elasticity of her bust—or so my wife surmises. I doubt that either of them thinks about the unfinished business of the republic very much at all.
>
> As I understand from my reading, the young are against bad people, wars and corruption, and for the ex-

ploited, brotherly love and wholesome sexual activity. . . .

Frankly, Mr. Murphy, I do not think my son and daughter are like that at all. I will not attempt to describe them here, except to say that they are built along somewhat more modest lines. . . . If you were to see them, I think you would be more reminded of a fellow like Johnny Carson than of Saint Francis of Assisi, say, or Mahatma Gandhi.

My problem, Mr. Murphy, is this: are my son and daughter the young or are they some sort of imposters?[3]

No, not imposters. Our stereotypes of youth, while they may simplify reality, often hide the diversity, complexity, and simplicity of young people.

Certainly the young share many characteristics deriving from normal physical and emotional growth as well as pressures from family, peers and society. Experts tell us that adolescents stress physical attractiveness, emphasize athletics, search for their identity, value the present, impulsively experiment, seek out pleasures, resist authority, etc.

But to deal with an individual young person such a list of characteristics is useless. These are descriptions of groups, not prescriptions for relating to individuals. Sadly, descriptions of the young quickly clot into stereotypes about Youth.

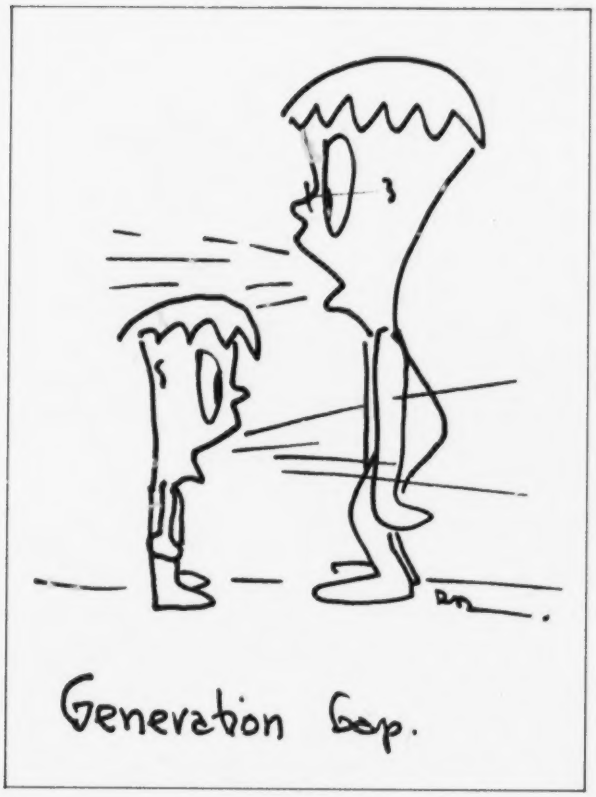
A *Life* magazine poll taken in 1971, if anything, illustrated how splintered perceptions of young people—when they congeal around a core of fear and envy—often don't jibe with what's out there in the real world. Consider the results of a national survey of a cross section from twenty-six million young people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one polled by Louis Harris Associates:

- 84% were satisfied with their education
- 93% expected their future to be as happy or even happier
- 61% believed that hard work leads to success and wealth
- 70% of the high-schoolers surveyed said wealth was worth striving for

Another side of the youth pooled emerged when:

- 65% said marijuana was easy to get
- 62% said marijuana should be legalized
- 54% answered that they had some but not a lot of confidence in the government's ability to solve the problems of the 70's[4]

Such polls should jog images a bit. Pictures of youth that



each of us have in our head should, I feel, be in numerous shades, kaleidoscopic, not monolithic gray, black or white. But frozen perceptions often remain rigid, ignoring evidence that threatens to melt that image.

One reason why our pictures of youth are often simple-minded is because images are powerful, often having deep emotional roots in each of our psyches. Sometimes no amount of knowledge can shake loose what is emotionally satisfying or secure to believe.

Another reason can be found in the poll itself. Youth *is* a minority. They are surveyed (Gallup, Harris polls, etc.), counted (twenty-six million), named (teenagers, youth, hippies, straights, etc.), feared (hoods, long-hairs, subversives, freaks, etc.), courted (as consumers they spend billions), discriminated against (lack of rights in school and in courts, etc.), underemployed (low wages), self-segregated (youth ghettos in college towns, youth bars, etc.), and rebellious (high school unrest). In short, the new "ethnics" are young people.

They are perceived as different. Communicating with their children, many parents admit, is difficult. Clothes, language, music seem to separate the generations. Youths feel different also. As every minority senses its differences from the majority, to that degree it is alienated (no pejorative meaning intended) from adulthood; so young people feel alienated.

The waves of change that rumbled and erupted within blacks, chicanos, women, convicts, homosexuals similarly swept over young people. Some were more affected than others—especially those that identified as youth first and black, chicano, female, convict or homosexual second—but none were unaffected. Because youths are perceived as a minority by adults and often act as a minority, adult feelings about other ethnic groups, especially low-status ones, often spill over onto young people.

To say that youth is a minority is, of course, trite. To add that youth has experienced the winds of rebelliousness and alienation can make knowledgeable readers gag. Nonetheless, minority status is a central fact of being young; it actively molds our perception of youth.

Education of Youth in Perspective

Historically, however, youth as a status was not the case. One scholar of family life has pointed out that a general awareness of youth as a stage of life did not emerge in western civilization until the twentieth century. "Our society," Philippe Aries says, "has passed from a period which was ignorant of adolescence to a period in which adolescence is the favorite age."

For centuries, one was either a child or an adult. Becoming an adult during the Middle Ages meant children imitated the ways of their elders and as quickly as possible assumed adult responsibilities. After infants were weaned they became companions of adults. The concept of education as a transition between childhood and adulthood did not take hold until the late medieval period. When education caught on, it developed with a vengeance. "Henceforth," Aries writes, "it was recognized that the child was not ready for life and that he had to be subjected to a special treatment, a sort of quarantine before he was allowed to join the adults."[5] At this point, family and school as child-rearing institutions emerged more clearly.

Yet most children did not go to school. Only the nobility, the tiny merchant and artisan classes that could afford to, sent their children to boarding schools and colleges. Most children were informally educated through the family and

apprenticeships. One didn't go to school to learn how to grind grain, carve beef, build cabinets, lay bricks, throw type, sail vessels or a thousand other skills. Perhaps they went to a school to learn their letters and numbers but they were shortly hired out to work or, if fortunate, indentured into a skilled apprenticeship. In any event, all learned informally what the demands of membership in adult society were.

This system of limited formal education and massive on-the-job training worked well enough in western societies that were primarily agrarian up until the twentieth century. It worked especially well in homogeneous cultures where change was slow and basic values were generally agreed upon. School taught children the basic skills and unavailable information as well as passing on the traditions and values of the culture. The advent of industrialism inexorably changed how adults perceived youth, informal education and the role of the school.

The clash of the agrarian and industrial ways of life has gone on for hundreds of years; for modern-day Americans the distinction between pre-industrial and post-industrial ways of life can be most starkly seen in the vigorous determination of present-day Amish farmers to educate their children their way.

The Plain People have resisted compulsory education laws. Fined, even jailed, Amish parents refused to send their children to high schools. They provided schools for teaching fundamental skills up to the eighth grade but no further. "It seems that our way," an Amish school committee chairman once said, "is quite different from what the public demands. Worldly wisdom taught in public schools conflicts with our way of life. Our religion is built around simplicity."[6]

Beyond the eighth grade, the Amish educate their young informally. Dependent upon the land, young people work on farms and in small shops. There are no churches; the whole community is the church. They meet in homes; one room filled with austere wooden benches is usually set aside for prayer. Sharing and cooperation and a rejection of modern technology (including electricity) add up to a communal society engaging in barn-raisings, using horse and buggies and windmills, and practicing a Spartan way of life. The process of children learning about adult ways goes on day and evening.

Formal education, then, serves a limited purpose. The function of the school is to produce children who will become full participating members of a communal society. In other words, the purpose of the school is to give its children the same skills, habits and values that their parents have.

Stability, not change, marks the school's relationship to Amish culture. Time spent in school is made as short as possible; growing up and assuming adult responsibilities are encouraged. Modern adolescence, the "teen" years, a prolonged period of non-adult obligations, is unacceptable by Amish standards. If a lack of poverty, unemployment and juvenile delinquency are criteria of success, the Plain People educate their children well.

In a modern, industrialized society, the family and school, alas, cannot function as in an agrarian one. What makes for the difference? Sociologist James Coleman says two facts cannot be ignored.

> The first is the fact of change itself. Our society is changing at an ever-increasing rate, so that adults cannot afford to shape their children in their own images. The parents are, in fact, often obsolescent in their skills, trained for jobs which are passing out of existence and thus unable to transmit directly their accumulated knowledge. They come to be "out of touch with the times," unable to understand much less to inculcate the standards of a social order which has changed since they were young.
>
> Second is the fact of economic specialization. . . . In an industrial society, each father's skills are highly specialized, while his son, if he is to start on an equal footing with his fellows, must be trained through public school as a generalist, able to choose the role in society which he wants to fill. . . . Neither the son of a steelworker nor the son of a business executive can become an apprentice at age 13 or 14. While their fathers vanish into their respective worlds of work, the sons must prepare themselves for an uncertain future; neither for steelworker nor for business executive, but for a range of possibilities. . . .
>
> These changes have taken not only the training for job process out of a parent's hands, but have effectively taken the whole adolescent away. He has been dumped into a society of his peers, a society whose habitats are of the halls and classrooms of the school, the teenage canteens, the corner drugstore, the automobile and numerous other gathering places. Consequently, the non-occupational training which parents once gave to their children via natural processes has been taken out of their hands as well—not by the schools, many of which are dismayed at the thought of having to take over parental functions, but by those very social changes which have forced adolescents into a society of their own.[7]

If industrialization and whirlwind technological change put electric ranges and zippy cars into garages, they also

helped weld a youth culture. Schools did not create youth cultures; industrialization did. How?

Industrialization demands skilled workers, managers, technicians, executives with more skills and knowledge than an agrarian society requires. As countries built factories, laid tracks and turned out typewriters, an educated labor force gained in importance. France, Germany, Russia, Japan—like the United States—passed compulsory education laws requiring children to go to school from five to ten years. High school and university enrollments climbed steeply in industrialized nations as the demand for skilled labor increased. As mechanization produced compulsory education forcing children into schools for longer and longer periods of their lives, it also altered the traditional functions of the family.

No longer can the family teach children how to earn a living. No longer is the family the economic unit it once was. Father and mother work outside the home in separate jobs that children seldom know anything about. Uncles, aunts and grandparents become burdens rather than assets they once were on the farm. They live by themselves now. Children now are expected to learn how to survive in institutions separate from the home. They spend thirty hours a week for anywhere up to fifteen years of their lives in schools. The accelerating pace of technological change has shifted the function of family to school, thereby creating what social scientists are fond of calling "youth subcultures." Again, this sounds like another cliché being trotted out and polished up for knowledgeable readers. So what's the point?

Segregation of the young for long periods of time is a necessary condition for minority status. Once delivered to schools for a decade of their lives, youth learns many things from both the real and hidden curricula that pervade public schools. The role of the school in a highly industrialized, ever-changing society is to continually define youth as a minority while at the same time trying to equip it with survival skills.

Compared to the usual words describing the role of public schools, what I say seems too calculating, mechanical. Whatever it sounds like, I know that such a role seldom appears in the philosophy of the school or in statements distributed to parents. Therefore an essential distinction to make in order to understand the nature of secondary schools is between stated aims and the real ones. Defining youth as a minority is a real one seldom appearing on a printed page; more about that later. For now, a few words about the stated aims of schools.

Aims of Schools: Stated and Real

If you have ever taught in a school preparing for an evaluation by an accreditation association, you have probably shared my schizoid feelings. Not long ago I was asked by the principal to chair the school philosophy committee. We were charged to come up with a statement of aims and objectives. Some sharp, independent teachers served with me as well as some of the usual, tired and beaten time-servers. While there was always a split in the group between those who saw the school in terms of subject matter to be learned and those that saw it as part of a process of learning, the dialogue was stimulating, rarely dull. We probably could have worked out what a school *should* do. Where we ran into serious head-knocking battles was over the discrepancy between what should be and what is.

An evaluation committee visits for a week and probes for the gaps between what you say you want to do and what you are doing. At my request the principal spoke to our committee. He asked us not to get hung up over writing the philosophy "since it will have to be so general you really can't go wrong. Take a look at what the philosophy was in 1963 (the last evaluation). It should be pretty close to what you will come up with for next year." We looked and this is what we read:

> The process of democratic education with which the school is concerned is the development of the individual to his fullest potential. Each has the right to secure through an educational system the type of experience which will develop personal, vocational, social and cultural competencies needed in our society. . . .
>
> The school must accept the responsibility for solving problems created by the effects of technology and science on society. It must increase its holding power through experimentation with new methods and through provision of widely varying curriculums to meet the needs of the individual in a world of rapid change, etc.

After reading the statement, a young committee member said—out of earshot of the principal—"bullshit!" He was upset by the obvious discrepancies between the words on paper and what happens in the school: an impotent student government, hall passes for any authorized movement in the corridors, required classes, administrators busting into student lockers, arbitrary expulsions from school and unimaginative teaching. My friend's barnyard epithet expressed many of our feelings about the gap between real and stated aims. To teach in a secondary school is to skirt the perimeter of schizophrenia.

How representative is this experience at one urban school for most schools? I suspect it is representative. Evidence? Films such as *High School* by Frederick Wiseman; the underground high school press as anthologized, for example, in John Birmingham's *Our Time Is Now;* writing by teachers such as in James Herndon's *The Way It Spozed To Be;* and the sharp, incisive attacks of observers like Paul Goodman and Edgar Friedenberg. Discrepancies between real and stated aims exist elsewhere.

If stated aims are less achievable as goals and more symptomatic of wishful thinking, a fantasy so to speak, then what are the real aims of the secondary schools? The answer is found in how schools operate. Ignore what schools say they are about; pay attention to what they do.

I realize that the diversity of suburban and urban public schools makes generalizations suspect. I also realize that an experimental ferment seizes school districts periodically and produces a harvest of exciting exceptions to the rule. And finally I realize that the underground press and radical high school students speak only for a mostly affluent white and black minority of young people. Aware of all of these qualifications as I am, there is still a general picture of how secondary schools operate that emerges from what teachers and students write and say.

Secondary schools are:

Tedious

If there is any complaint claiming universality it is that school is boring, repetitive and dulling. Unvarying routines, classes meeting and ending on odd minutes day-in-and-out, busy work done in class, teachers droning on and on. Disbelievers should go through a whole day with one student. Move with him or her from class to class. Novelty wears off before noon and is replaced by a tedium that stretches out before the eyes like a desert. And like the student, you, too, will begin to watch the heavy hands of the clock move toward 3:00 P.M.

Totalitarian

Authority instead of being exercised in a judicious, reasonable manner is persistently arbitrary. Passing or failing a course may turn upon a random remark; whether or not a particular class is taken depends upon factors frequently unrelated to a student's concern or interest; going to a bathroom, inviting a speaker to an after-school activity, leaving school to eat elsewhere, and a thousand other matters are subject to an intricate network of rules made by school officials in the name of preserving order in the building. The arbitrary exercise of authority can be seen most clearly in instances where

lockers are broken into and searched, girls are checked to see if they are pregnant, and students suspended on a teacher's accusation. Authoritarianism breeds apathy and a corrosive sense of powerlessness.

Traps

By tracking students into courses they do not want or assigning them to unimaginative teachers, by requiring so many courses for graduation, by sorting out students into slots labeled College, Vocational, Business, and General—by all of these devices and more, students learn that they are unfree to express themselves about issues that concern them greatly. And even if they could speak out, they have learned that little would change. Other than dropping out, there is little one can do to exercise control over the education one receives. There are too many "Catch 22s" in the system.

For what reasons have we created schools that trap youth in their powerlessness, drug them into boredom and control their lives down to where and when they can urinate? What we have done has been done unconsciously (although others would say conspiratorially) and has occurred in response to powerful forces generated by the society we live in. A highly industrialized, technological society places implacable demands upon the family and school. The demands inexorably shape the real task of the school as assuredly as the historic rhetoric of democratic beliefs shaped the stated tasks of the school.

Making it in the technological world we live in requires certain habits, skills and attitudes. One must be able, in Kenneth Keniston's words, to " 'cooperate,' 'follow the rules of the game,' 'be a good loser,' 'wait one's turn,' to subordinate personal needs to the interest of a group or institution—all qualities needed in our tightly organized society." "But even more fundamental," Keniston continues, "are other cognitive skills: the ability to concentrate, conceptualize, analyze, abstract, organize, schedule, defer, measure and coordinate."[8] And there are even other societal needs, according to Edgar Friedenberg. "We all share," he says, "an economic interest in the dependency of the 'teenager'. . . . Labor is interested in keeping him off the labor market. Business and industry are interested in seeing that his tastes become fads and in selling him specialized junk that a more mature taste would reject."[9] Add to these requirements the conviction that certain majority values and life styles must be transmitted to the young, and the all-encompassing rationale for the schools as they exist emerges more clearly.

With all of these basic needs, is it any wonder that compulsory attendance takes on the unassailable importance it does? Containing large numbers of young people in schools for at least ten years creates a captive population that must be both assimilated (become like adults) and equipped with essential skills for functioning in the adult world. To achieve both ends, schools define youths as different, reinforce their low-status and treat them as a minority. Thus, schools "civilize" the "natives" (when students rebel it is called "unrest") and simultaneously work for their passage from a hostile minority to an acquiescent and acquisitive majority.

In Brief: "A Mixed Picture"

Much of what I say is not new. Some social scientists, educators, and keen observers have unflinchingly and unerringly flailed public schools for their dehumanization. I am not mindlessly parroting their points. I say this defensively since so many educational bandwagons flit by that a knowledgeable reader could well conclude that here is another guy who hopped aboard the most recent one and, seemingly, the most chic of the recent fads. Radical critiques easily become conformist, the "in" thing to spout. This is not the case here.

I have spent many years in urban schools as a teacher and administrator. All that I have experienced (and the knowledge reaped from experience is as valuable and useful as research-produced knowledge) convinced me that the schools do, indeed, treat the young as powerless but occasionally unruly natives; the school unfailingly perceives youth as a low-status minority. It must to achieve the real aims of the school. I knew this in my gut as an adolescent two decades ago but stored it deeply away in some inaccessible corner of my psyche. I even practiced it as a beginning teacher. It was some time before I understood what the system was trying to do to young people, much less to its teachers. Reflecting no mindless agreement with radical critics or breast-beating of a convert, I suggest only the convergence of one man's zigzag journey with the paths that others have taken.

Yet to say all of this about schools is not to agree with what should happen in schools. While some would propose destroying public schools because they damage youth, others would propose alternatives to in-school instruction, and even others would try to reform the schools from within. Regardless of what changes are recommended, it is well to remember that there are millions of young people who have

never heard of John Holt, Jonathan Kozol or Paul Goodman. They believe that schools should be improved, not destroyed. In their own way, they like school. Don't forget that, according to the *Life* poll cited earlier, 84% were satisfied with their education. Yes, school is tedious. Often authoritarian and unjust, they would agree. A trap, probably not. I speak of the many working-class white, brown and black youths who accept the necessity of school much as one swallows an ill-tasting medicine knowing that in the end it will be good for him. School is still seen as a lever to lift them out of poverty into affluence. The slice of the American pie coming to them, they believe, will come once they are schooled. For them, junior and senior high schools are not unending tragedies but a time of life that is made endurable, even occasionally pleasant, by one's friends, social events and some humane teachers.

I speak also of the many white affluent students who continue to work within student government, who organize inside and outside the public schools to fight bigotry, support political candidates and work for environmental improvement. These youths, defined and treated as a low-status minority, transcend the school's definition of youth.

We have, in truth, a mixed picture of the young. They are not all clenched-fist revolutionaries or "jocks" or long-haired hippies or any particular label. Diverse and complex, today's youth is forced to face issues and choices with a freedom and, sadly, a powerlessness that his parents did not and could not predict.

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Section 2: *Viewpoints on "Youth As a Minority"*

"At 3:16 A.M. General Plodgey, wearing a bright red coat with new brass buttons saw his first Indian...."

so what?

FACTORY*

GREGG SHAW

Taken from an underground newspaper, Gaudio, *Dulaney High School, Towson, Maryland,* GREGG SHAW'S *ode to a school captures the feelings of many suburban students.*

Yellow Vans, 8:15
Buzzzz . . .
"I pledge allegiance, to . . ."
". . . The morning announcements . . ."
". . . Of the . . ."
". . . Senior dues . . ."
". . . Of America."
Buzzzz . . .
Tramp. Tramp. Tramp.
I see Tommy and Bonnie and Billy and Sue.
Good little do bees who know what to do.
Buzzzz . . .
Where is the old screw? If she thinks I did that homework
She's out of her sweet bippy.
"Oh, good morning, Miss Roseicheekt.
No, mam, I couldn't get that one."

*Reprinted from *How Old Will You Be in 1984?*, edited by Diane Divoky, by arrangement with Avon Books. Copyright © 1969 by Avon Books.

Buzzzz . . .
"Get me an ice cream."
"How many periods did they get you for?"
"No. 9, No. 9, No. 9, No. 9, No. 9."
"Why don't we do it in the . . ."
"Spinach, and the orange stuff must be carrots."
". . . Hard to explain, sir. I'd just rather sit down in the lobby
Where I can think, than come up and sit in the midst of this mass
Lunacy. I know that's hard to understand, but . . ."
"Let's go get a smoke, man."
Buzzzz . . .
Tick, tock. Tick, tock.
It's never going to end, I'm going to die in here.
I wonder if he'd give me a pass to the nurse.
Or the bathroom. Anywhere.
Buzzzz . . .
Buzzzz . . .
Buzzzz . . .
Buzzzz . . .
Yellow Vans, 2:45
4 more days left.

TURN LEFT AT SCARSDALE*

MICHAEL MARQUSEE

MICHAEL MARQUSEE is a sixteen-year-old Junior in Scarsdale High School. Scarsdale is a wealthy New York City suburb, and Michael lives in a large, two-story house. His father is a real estate executive and art book publisher in New York. Considered to be the most articulate, outspoken student in his school, Michael is a leader of the radical students in Scarsdale.

I have lived in Scarsdale for most of my life, and I write from the viewpoint of the affluent student turned radical. This contradiction between my political thinking and economic and social background may seem strange, but it is one of which I am constantly aware; in fact, it is my upbringing in this culture which has directly influenced my radicalization and is in some ways the cause of it.

The Scarsdale community can be described as an upper middle-class community. With the average income over $25,000 and a virtually all-white population, Scarsdale is the ideally insulated town, excluding the poor and the black. It is a community of family units in which the father

*From *The High School Revolutionaries*, edited by Marc Libarle and Tom Seligson. Copyright © 1970 by Marc Libarle and Tom Seligson. Reprinted by permission of Random House, Inc.

usually c[illegible]utes to New York City while the mother stays home to t[illegible]he children who attend, for the most part, one of the high[illegible]-rated Scarsdale public schools. The jobs that the men in Scarsdale commute to are almost all either in one of the professions or in business. In this community, my friends and myself are all the children of desk-sitters. Our fathers work in a 9 to 5, tie-and-jacket world where the guiding principle is usually that of finding the easiest path to the most money.

Obviously, laborers of any kind and low-ranking desk-job holders find no place for themselves in Scarsdale. In fact, for most of us, the only working-class people we ever have contact with are the employees our parents hire to clean house, do the gardening, or repair the washing machines, heaters, cars, stoves, and swimming pools.

Scarsdale prides itself on its cultural and intellectual interests. There are many patrons of Lincoln Center, frequent theaters-goers, and supposedly avid book-readers. Most of us live in large, one-family houses, among which there is little variety. The town has a calm, serene mood, with its quiet, uncrowded streets, and absence of night activity. There is a generally restrained and almost unfriendly attitude toward one's neighbors. The mothers of the town engage in various "wifely" activities: watching the kids, directing her staff, chatting on the phone, shopping, playing tennis, or maybe some occasional stuffing letters at a local political office.

Finally, in this catalogue of Scarsdale family elements, there are the children, and we are in many ways the center of family and community attention. Virtually all parents see their child's function within school as the attainment of high g[illegible]ades, or in other words, academic success and a better chance for admission to a highly-rated college. This is the goal and primary function of our high schools.

This purpose is reflected in the atmosphere and routine of the school. In the corridors, each morning before classes, there are many students, sitting on the floor. They look at their books, waiting without enthusiasm or even involvement, for school to begin. They've spent the night before either sw[illegible]ating over generally meaningless homework assignments or procrastinating and neglecting these assignments. In this case they have spent a night of anxiety and depression over their teacher's probable reactions to their misconduct the following day. With the exception of four or five scattered classes, there is no class which most students, given the chance, will not try to cut, either through legal excuses or by just taking off.

Although the school administration has not acknowl-

edged this, cutting has become a major problem in recent years. There are those who cut all their classes constantly—the outcasts, heavy drug-users, or academic failures—but there is a new group of cutters. This new group includes many types of people: from "greasers" and "jocks" to average, liberal-oriented kids who do mediocre work in school, to those like myself, who see classes and school as a usually worthless activity and feel nothing but bitterness toward the rules. This broad group has one thing in common—none of us sees going to classes as a useful, fulfilling, or truly important matter. This is not new. Students have felt that way about school for years. However, recently, we no longer just accept mandatory attendance. We look at those rows of desks, the other bored pupils, our unfinished homework, and some of our culturally mechanized teachers and say, "Fuck it." Usually, our decision to cut is impulsive, and the relief that comes when we finally resolve not to go to class seems to amply reward the risks we take. As more kids cut more often, the risk diminishes. In my school, cutting is so frequent that it has become virtually uncontrollable, and many teachers have resigned themselves to this fact. Still, cutting is probably the student crime most abhorred by faculty and administration, for it is a complete negation of the school's authority over the student: it is a rejection of the cherished tradition of student-teacher relationships as master-slave relationships.

Most students when in class blankly occupy their assigned place, and occasionally take notes. They infrequently participate in discussion, usually doing some mental tripping to take their minds off the boredom of their day-to-day routine. Some of the students (not necessarily the more intelligent or creative ones) participate actively in class discussions, either to impress the teacher, or relieve the dullness. Rarely is it out of genuine interest in the subject. When the period bell rings to signal the end of the class, we all stand up immediately, in Pavlovian response, and go to our next class, whether the discussion in the previous class is over or not.

Both teachers and students object to this procedure, but the school feels that the maintenance of this regimented pattern is more important than whether we become involved in the substance of a particular class. Once the student becomes aware that adherence to the schedule is of primary importance, he loses the desire to actively participate in his education. I know of one teacher who will stop in the middle of a sentence when the bell rings and continue that sentence at the beginning of the period next day as if nothing had happened and he was just speaking into a tape

recorder. This is an extreme example, but it applies in part to all teachers. This pattern continues all day, every day, and within weeks after the beginning of school in September, the student bodies are demoralized, disinterested, and finally programmed. I use "programmed" because the process which each student undergoes in attending high school is akin to the computer data-organizing process. (Note here that my principal is a former data processor.) The distribution of courses and schedules is completely impersonal; we are to the administrators little more than cards in a file.

Indeed, judging by the quantity of the different forms and records we fill out, each student is the sum of his "record"—that omnipresent, omnipotent fact which deans, teachers, and parents continuously remind us of. These "records" are the compilation of all the forms and fact sheets that contain information on us. They include medical forms, grade records, test scores, and evaluations filled out by teachers with questions such as: Is the student self-motivated in class discussion? (needs no outside encouragement, occasionally needs prodding, seldom participates voluntarily, never participates voluntarily—choose one). Not only do these files influence our high school career, but they are the primary information used by colleges in determining our acceptability. Therefore, from our entry into ninth grade until we graduate, our job is to build a "good record" and the school's job is to guide us in this task and ultimately into college. To describe the educational process as one of guidance is an understatement. Indeed, it is neither guidance nor influence, it is determined manipulation.

This manipulation does not start in high school, nor in any of the lower grades. It is, in fact, the function of the entire Scarsdale culture and society—from birth certificate to draft card. From an early age we are almost invariably taught basic, "humanistic" values: tolerance for others, freedom and equality for all, and general "do unto others . . ."-type rules which are taken quite seriously by most of us, and are a basis for the enormous respect parents demand of us when we are very young. Many children receive some form or another of religious instruction. Even before first grade, I had been inculcated with the knowledge that I am Jewish. Following this I worked my way through ten years of Sunday School. Moving from enthusiasm in the first years, through boredom, carelessness, and disinterest in the middle years, I finally became bitter and disgusted and I reacted against the whole process of religious education in Scarsdale.

I said above that at an early age, we are taught the "serious" values of justice and equality. My bitterness toward the Jewish culture in Scarsdale, and especially the Sunday Schools, stems partly from my detection of the falseness and superficiality behind those primary teachings. In school, in temple, and at home, we are taught not to lie, cheat, or be dishonest, hypocritical, or intolerant in any way. Yet one learns that these teachings are meaningless. Our religious teachers make a mockery of the Bible—for most kids it has neither meaning nor value. Concepts of love, faith, peace, commitment, and social justice, seem useless when they are sermonized or lectured in a superficial, unreasoned, and thoughtless manner, as they are in most religious classes. Nowhere do the students and teacher come together and try to grasp, through sincere analysis, what these ideas mean and how they apply to everything from Agnew to the family gathering at the dinner table. What does brotherhood mean to us when we hear the sickening, racist comments our oh-so-proud, oh-so-Jewish elders make about Arabs and those "ungrateful," "anti-Semitic" black militants? What can religious values mean when they include the unquestioning dogmatic support of the militaristic, racist state of Israel simply because its populace is primarily Jewish? I am fed up with Sunday School curricula which supposedly deal with "black problems," the war, anti-Semitism, and premarital sex, from a point of view which dictates that through reasoned and informed analysis the student will come not to *a* conclusion but to *the* Jewish conclusion.

Why should we study these foreign problems which our teachers are not equipped to discuss, when Scarsdale itself is a spiritual void? Because most of us, in our different ways, have perceived the meaninglessness of this religious prattle, and the hypocrisy that lies behind our parents' culture; life becomes purposeless—a web of patterns and beaten paths that many kids in Scarsdale follow blindly.

When I speak of hypocrisy in the Scarsdale culture, I hope that this idea is not confused with fashionable suburban critiques seen in "Goodbye Columbus," "The Graduate," *Look* magazine, and endless trivia on the "younger generation." No, these are precisely the entertainments most popular among the pseudosophisticates of Scarsdale. Nearly everyone in Scarsdale sees other people completely in terms of roles or types. They all have their different images—each trying to appear more confident or correct than the other. The tragedy of this situation is not only that it forces (or again manipulates) people into limiting positions, but also that eventually if you play your

various roles (including liberal, mod businessman, loud joker, sophisticated literati, conservative and cautious executive) often enough, you lose track of your personality; the being underneath the mask vanishes. Whether he realizes it or not, the youth in Scarsdale is constantly subjected to this in his parents, his friends, his teachers, and the characters he observes nightly on TV. He is absorbed into this pattern and too often the period of adolescence is the period in which we are supposed to determine our various roles and their uses. To this end the community institutes many forms of teenage diversions. Besides the all-American activities such as sports and dances, there are the more subtle forms such as Bar Mitzvahs, clothes-fashions, and above all school.

I return to the subject of school because finally it is the center of all our activity and is the primary tool with which the young of Scarsdale are molded into finished products. The word "process" has repeatedly cropped up here because it is indicative of the nature of existence in my community. Thus, Scarsdale High seeks to produce college graduates who are in turn directed into a field within the professional or business community. This "process" is not so far removed from the pattern whereby black kids in a ghetto school are trained for "niggerly" jobs (or no jobs) or where working-class kids are sent to vocational schools. As has been said, the student is universally a nigger. We are subservient to all authority and our lives are controlled by that authority from the selection of our careers to the development of our values. This is a system which should be abhorrent to all who hold supposedly "human," "progressive" values, yet it is endorsed by almost all in the adult world, for they see it as a necessary preface to that wondrous goal—a career.

Choose anything you want but have a career—a definite, disciplined job or skill that involves a routine of work. In that routine is security, happiness, and normalcy. This is a standard defense of the school system. They preach that this process aids in our attainment of fulfillment. It gives us opportunities. Bullshit. This process, as I and my friends in affluent Scarsdale have discovered, is one of limitation and misdirection. Imagine spending your entire thinking life attending classes which have been planned by someone thirty years older than you who usually has little in common with you; having your daily schedule worked out by someone who probably has never seen you; sitting down in assigned desks at the signal of a bell and standing up again fifty minutes later at the same signal, only to move to another preplanned class and follow the same routine, all

day, every day, in pursuit of a goal someone else has set for you and which, whether you believe in it or not, seems to offer as little excitement as the dreary schedule you now go through. This is the high school student, and that existence is one directed toward limitation, demoralization, and I repeat, manipulation. One of the weapons which the school uses in directing our course is a steady, subtle humiliation which starts the moment we learn in kindergarten that we must raise our hand (an absurd ritual) in order to get permission to go to the bathroom. It is continued in the hundreds of orderly lines we all form to move around elementary school, the disgrace we suffer when we make a wrong answer to an easy question, and the paranoia and tension that accompany the distribution of grades on all levels of education.

For a student, grades can become an obsessive force in life. All our activities in school revolve around our grades. However, few students actually believe they are an accurate measure of someone's intelligence or capabilities. Teachers often say they indicate a student's "performance." They picked the right word. Attaining high grades in school is usually just a matter of performing or acting out the role of dutiful student with a straight face. Given a talent for bullshitting, anybody can pull an A. The difference between one grade or another, even if it's between a B+ and an A, can absorb some students to the point of neurosis. The parents are almost all excessively concerned with their child's grades, and some will punish or reward their kids according to their quarterly standing. All of them encourage and even push their kids into working for a higher grade whether that means learning anything or not. Often, we find ourselves orienting everything toward creating a good impression the last few weeks of each marking period and then dropping it at the beginning of a new one until report-card time comes around again.

We are forced into competition with one another—for grades, honor classes, admittance to college, athletic teams, and social acceptance. Through this competition, our honesty, awareness, and intelligence are not improved, but rather a capacity to wear a mask, be devious, take the safe and beaten path, and stomp on our peers is developed. But even this is not done by the students consciously. It is simply their adaptation to the school environment, the normal way to achieve "success" in the dreary, pre-packaged world of high school. This competitiveness is a series of humiliations, for all, even the successful one, and its ultimate purpose is to produce beings who have resigned themselves to the authority of this system. The being which the Scarsdale

culture seeks to produce is what my friends and I refer to as Plastic Man. He is a complex, built of TV commercials, AM radio, frozen dinners, *Life* magazine, shiny sports cars, and memories of years of boring, useless classes. Plastic Man does not regard these as wasted hours; they are merely the basis and background of his existence. He is not real. His life is synthetic, and has only the appearance of quality—he is normal.

The school and the society seek to manipulate us into a given career and social post through submission to authority. Supposedly, the system functions best in Scarsdale and therefore why did it produce a group of youths as embittered and hateful of the Establishment as we are? I think it is clear that part of the reason stems from the system itself and part from the climate of the times. When one has been humiliated, demoralized, and manipulated by unseen powers for most of his life, the expected result would be a complete resignation, a lack of rebellion. But one must remember that one of the principles of the system is to keep up the appearance of "creativity" and "progressiveness." This is part of the liberal doctrine—the appearance of freedom in order to maintain the status quo.

Part of our school's reputation is based on the idea that it is an "openminded" institution which encourages "free inquiry" and the development of "awareness." Not only is this image reported to outsiders but it is presented to us constantly. We are told, essentially, "Isn't this school great! Aren't we learning a lot, kids!" Most students swallow this crap. Yet, if one examines the school closely, it reveals itself as regimented, closed, and in many ways anti-openminded. We all are forced to take courses we don't want, courses in predetermined, rigid curricula that are forced on us without regard to our personal concerns. Most teachers still believe that their goal in instructing a class is to lead us to discover what the teacher has previously decided is the Truth about a particular book, event, person, idea, or subject. The school believes that whatever it decides will be the concern of each of our personal educations will be that which is most fruitful to us. We are not allowed to explore different fields on our own. This is not freedom, openness, or awareness. I had a teacher who took great pride in demonstrating his "openmindedness" to us by criticizing Rockefeller's Latin American tour, but when I wrote an article for the school newspaper describing student-teacher relationships as master-slave relationships, he blew up. He insisted I had no right to say such things and listed all his degrees to prove his own superiority. Their progressiveness is a cover-up, a way of convincing the students that their plight could not be bad.

The system has backfired. We in the upper middle-class suburbs have grown up in an unreal world, without the natural beauty of the country or the urgency of the city. Suburbia is a vast map of "normalcy"—more likely banality. The process of growing up in this society is unreal because it does not involve awareness of what one is doing and why.

Adults in Scarsdale neither know nor understand the vastness or depth of drug usage in the high school. They regard it as an outside, unusual pattern of behavior. Growing up in Scarsdale is a matter of unreality, of fitting patterns. When we enter high school we have often reached a point where we need something beyond these patterns. To many, this need is filled by drugs, sometimes because it is fashionable, sometimes because it allows escape from the dreariness of school life, sometimes because the actual experience itself lends something new to perception of reality. Usually drug usage is a combination of all three. By my own observations, more than half of the students in Scarsdale High smoke grass and hash, and some have tripped on acid, mescaline, or psilocybin. The number of heroin and cocaine users is small but growing. The types of drugs that individuals use vary according to their temperament and social group, but the use of grass and hash is now so common as to have been accepted by many adults as just another teenage diversion like rock music or long hair. In many cases, this is true: kids get into drugs simply because it's an accepted social activity. There are those who use drugs, however, in a different manner, an antisocial manner. I don't use this term pejoratively at all, because by antisocial I mean our use of drugs is a method of responding to or reacting against the society we live in. In both its dreariness, its occupation with image, status, and money the society is an unblinking oppressor. In response to this, students often react by getting involved in different kinds of drugs, for drugs are a respite from Scarsdale life and an infinitely more real and personal experience than attending school or trying to succeed in suburban culture.

No creativity, no individuality, no questioning. We seem to be merely manipulated by a system (not by other individuals), from point to point with no purpose. Many of us feel powerless. Our only avenue to true self-expression and development is through rebellion against the society that created that monstrosity: Plastic Man. By criticizing and ultimately destroying this form of life we hope to free man from all kinds of oppression: economic, racial, cultural. Thus, here I am, an affluent radical, the most bourgeois of contradictions.

LEASA, JOHNNY, AND PABLO SPEAK OUT*

LEASA

Leasa is a black student who attends a school where black students make up about one-half the student body. She is a senior. Her school is located in a large city in the Northwest, and, at the time of the interview, the school was experiencing much racial tension. Leasa plans to go to college next year and hopes to become an African history teacher.

Our former principal's a beautiful person. He was well aware of the problem in the central area and well aware of black students; he was just concerned; he was the kind of person you could talk to frankly—you could tell him any gripes you had and he'd see what he could do about it. The thing that always makes me so mad is that last year he aged like about 5 years and so he retired. He says it was for "health reasons," but these health reasons came about because of those middle-class Negroes who felt that he wasn't doing his job. They pressured him to the extent that he just had to retire or else he was going to have a heart attack. So

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we got another, the biggest racist. With the new one, you kind of have to play his game; you have to talk to him, but you have a B.S. line. I feel that he's only out for personal glory. He's the type of person for whom the school must look such and such a way to society and has to do such and such or the community won't like it.

He also always refers to us as children. "Yes, the children seem to feel this way, the children are insecure, the children do this, the children do that." We are young men and women coming up in the world. We are *not* children and it just infuriates us to no end!

We also have this thing about being called "boys." We are young men at high school; do not call us "boys"! It just does not work. Like somebody would say, "They're nice boys and girls"—"boys"? I am not a boy, I'm a young man or a gentleman, but I am not a boy! It's a serious matter, really, because for so long Southerners would say, "Hey, boy, come do this, that, and the other." We just don't want anybody to call us "boys" anymore. The new principal has a lot to learn—he really does.

There was a big question, about having a Black Students Union. When the new principal first came to our school, he was all for the students. "Students you can do anything you want, as long as you do it in an orderly and democratic manner." You know, he was that kind of principal, probably thinking "I've got to win the students to my side seeing as how this great transition is taking place." And so, he said, "Yes, I'm all for the students." So they asked him, "Well, can we have a Black Students Union?" At first he was pessimistic about it, "Well, I don't really think it's needed, no, I don't think so. It's a prejudice-type thing because you're restricting it to only black students—we can't have this." We said, "O.K., we'll open it to any students who are interested in the Black Students Union. They can become members. It's just that simple." He said, "Well, I don't know about that. I'll consider it." "O.K., Sir, you consider it. We'll talk to you tomorrow about the whole matter." So he was talked to. He said, "If the Executive Council passes it, you can have a Black Students Union." O.K. The Executive Council passed it. But then he said, "Well, I don't know, I really don't think so."

So the black students had a rally—everybody met in the front hall and were going into the principal's office to voice their opinions, but we never made it to the office. The people who were organizing it went to the office, talked to him, and he suddenly changed his tune. We have a Black Students Union now. Not that I am a member, but it was the principle of how he went about it that made me so mad.

JOHNNY

Johnny is a senior in a suburban school outside a medium-sized southern city. He is white and is in an academic course. Some black students have been assigned to Johnny's school as part of the city's desegregation plan.

Conditions at my school are pretty good, but I know people that gripe about them. It doesn't make any difference what you do for them, they'll still gripe about it. And those are the people that keep it from being an ideal school. They'll go around and tell the teachers, "Why can't we have a lounge?" Why can't we leave school during lunch periods and go home to eat, or things like that? Or if you've got a study hall sixth period, "Why can't you leave school instead?" I don't think you could have an ideal school if you allowed this because there's just going to be those few students that's gonna ruin it.

PABLO

Pablo is a Mexican American student in his junior year at an all-Mexican American school in a large city in the Southwest. He wants to become a teacher.

School is pretty good in some cases and pretty bad in some others. Times are changing, everybody knows the times are changing and education should keep up with the times. The education we're getting from our school right now is kind of getting behind and somebody has to do something to speed it up a little. If all of us Mexican Americans stay behind in our education, we're going to be behind period. If we have a chance to improve the education, we're going to have a chance to improve our race. We have a big dropout rate. They just kick them out; they don't try to improve them. Nobody has really gotten on the ball and tried to improve the conditions.

Now they are improving the educational system, but it is kind of slow. Nobody is prepared for trig because our ele-

mentary and junior high education was crummy; we couldn't take harder courses. They don't even give you a chance to try them. You go to some Northside school and wow!, you have two or three classes in trig because they are prepared. Over here, you are not prepared for anything. The education is way behind.

People who have a chance really work for it. You go outside and you see somebody digging a ditch; they are the poor Mexican American or Negro. It is a fact. You see the guy come around saying, "No, make it a little wider," or "No, straighten it up." That's the Anglo. Anglos have all the power because of their education. We don't have the education because they control it. If we were better educated, we could have better jobs.

LIFE OF A STUDENT: TWO VIEWPOINTS

The following papers were written by students in a school that is black and predominately working-class. Students were told that the papers would not be graded; turning the papers in would give the students full credit. The purpose of this assignment was to examine the credibility of primary sources of information. The papers appear exactly as written.

MY SCHOOL LIFE AT ROOSEVELT

Gregory Scurlock

School to me plays a very important part in young people's lives today. School is a place where you go to get an education to prepare yourself for the future ahead of you.

When I was asked, how is my school life at Roosevelt for me it was easy for me to answer this question for myself. In every school there are advantages and disadvantages.

Roosevelt is very challenging and very exciting. I am an athlete at Roosevelt and I have a pretty good reputation among my teachers and the student body. This makes life fun for me at Roosevelt because there is hardly ever a dull moment for me.

On the other hand the person who is hardly known by anyone at Roosevelt there is nothing for him to do socially until he strides to make his school life better.

To me school is more than getting an education it prepares you for the outside life also. Most of the teachers are

pretty much together and they know their work. Roosevelt is a lot of fun to me. Most people who have gone through High School says that it is the most funtime of your school life and I beleive it.

When I was in the sixth grade when we graduated we had to learn a poem that I will never forget. This poem taught me to have pride in my school and I think it is the best. The name of the poem is "It Isn't The School It's You."

> If you want to live in the kind of school that's the kind of school you like you needn't slip your book in a grip and start on a long long hike.
>
> For you'll finally find that you're left behind for that's nothing really new it's a knock at yourself when you knock your school it Isn't The School It's You.
>
> Real Schools are not made by lads afraid to work hard to get ahead where everyone works and nobody shirks you can raise a school from the dead, and if while you're making a personal gain your neighbor can make one too It's a knock at yourself when you knock your school It Isn't the School It's You.

Whether the times are good or bad I love my school life at Roosevelt because Roosevelt is a part of me and the same respect I have for myself I have for my school also.

STUDENT LIFE AT ROOSEVELT

Renée Faulkner

Student life at Roosevelt usually begins at the hours of 8:00 and 9:00. Student life at Roosevelt is like a work day for a grown up. Your class would usually begin at 9:00. You go to your first period class. When the bell rings again you are jumping out of your seat to rush down stairs to see your friends that you missed over night. After you carry on a brief conversation with everybody, here comes Mr. Holup or Mr. Brown telling you to clear the halls. Then you would pass on to your next period class.

The second most important thing to a Roosevelt student is "lunch time." Lunch time is your favorite time during the school day. There you relax from class, eat or just sit around doing your next period homework. There you don't have to worry about some teacher hollering down your back for something or other. After lunch time it is time for you to pass to your next period class.

The first most important thing is when the bell ring for 3:00. It means it is time to go home. Everybody is happy to leave. and go home and get a good nights sleep for the next day as a Roosevelt Student.

WHY STUDENTS WANT THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS*

NAT HENTOFF

NAT HENTOFF summarizes the recent movement for increased student rights and the court's relationship to that movement. He is an associate professor of education at New York University, and a staff writer for the New Yorker *magazine. This is an adapted article from a report commissioned by the American Civil Liberties Union.*

There exists among us a subject population as diverse in ethnic and socio-economic composition as the nation itself. In increasing numbers, its members are conducting a stubborn, sometimes explosive, struggle for liberation. Their goal, considering the previous history of this group within the United States, is quite revolutionary. They want their Constitutional rights.

Nearly thirty years ago, it appeared that this colony, coterminous with the mother country, was about to achieve these rights. The United States Supreme Court proclaimed, in *West Virginia Board of Education* v. *Barnette,* that "educating the young for citizenship is reason for scrupulous protection of Constitutional freedoms of the individual, if we are not to strangle the free mind at its source and

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teach youth to discount important principles of our government as mere platitudes."

Despite the Court's 1943 pronouncement, there has been little significant change, until recently, in the attitudes of most public school administrators toward their students. The latter, compelled by law to attend these institutions, find their Constitutional freedoms routinely violated rather than scrupulously protected by those in charge of the schools. Such basic rights of an American citizen as freedom of speech and assembly, protection from invasion of privacy, and the guarantee of due process of law do not exist for the overwhelming majority of American high school students.

- After the first Earth Day, a student at Grady High School, Atlanta, Georgia, observes: "They let us have an assembly on Earth Day, but the principal warned me not to say anything about the war. He says the war is not relevant to high school education."

- A student at Central High School, Muncie, Indiana: "They search the lockers anytime they want to. And we're not allowed to be present when they do. They took a bottle of aspirin out of my locker once and sent it down to Indianapolis to have it analyzed. It cost them a lot of money to find out it was really my aspirin. I get migraine headaches, and I really needed it."

- In a high school in Sumter, South Carolina, a student running for school office is summarily removed from the ballot by the principal because the student has written in the school paper an article critical of the administration.

"But you can't do that!" the boy says. "It's un-Constitutional."

"The constitution of this school," the principal informs the student, "takes precedence over the United States Constitution."

- In September 1970 in Roseville, Michigan, thirty students are refused entry to the high school because of a provision in the school's dress code that says male students' hair must not touch the ears or shirt collars or fall over the eyebrows.

I have not selected extraordinary illustrations, as nearly any high school student in any part of the country can testify. Put plainly, many administrators and teachers in the public schools honestly believe they are educating their charges for citizenship; but because of the way in which *they* were educated, they have a decidedly limited understanding of the nature of and the necessity for student rights. As Edgar Friedenberg noted in *The Dignity of Youth and Other Atavisms*, "It is idle to talk about civil liberties to adults who were systematically taught in ado-

lescence that they had none; and it is sheer hypocrisy to call such people freedom-loving."

Less harsh is Ed McManus, director of the American Civil Liberties Union affiliate in Milwaukee: "The great majority of schools have a habitual, although not necessarily vicious, disregard for civil liberties. You see, they simply don't perceive them as an issue."

They are recognizing, however, that other people do very much perceive civil liberties in the schools as an issue. In the past decade, a rising number of students and their parents—often in conjunction with affiliates of the ACLU throughout the country—have been bringing, and increasingly winning, suits that make specific the judgment by the Supreme Court in 1967 (*in re: Gault*) that "neither the Fourteenth Amendment nor the Bill of Rights is for adults alone."

This burgeoning revolt by our sequestered youth is rooted in diverse rebellions outside the high schools that began in the early 1960s: the drive for civil rights; the awakenings on college campuses, from the Free Speech Movement to the 1968 Battle of Morningside Heights; and the multidimensional anti-war movement. Out there, all kinds of people were into learning how to be free. But in the secondary schools, as many students have told me, "it was like a prison." But for many of us older survivors, school was always like a prison. (John Holt has observed how often school is the setting for the bad dreams of adults.) We, however, did not have all those enviably venturesome agents of change out there to emulate. And the older generations also did not, as students, grow up during a war that has effectively decimated young people's respect for adult authority—from the President's to the proximate principal's.

There is no discernible chronological pattern with regard to which issues first stirred the thrust by high school students for what Tom Hayden calls "personal legitimacy." In some schools, dress codes were the Battle of Concord. In others, arbitrary suspensions. Or censorship of the school paper. Or a principal's refusal to allow the wearing of armbands or buttons. Although all of it is part of a common cultural pattern, high school constitutionalism has been largely a decentralized phenomenon. But it is becoming more and more powerful as more substantial court battles are won.

The most important of these victories in recent years was the *Tinker* case. In December 1965, the principals of the Des Moines public schools learned that a group of students planned to wear black armbands during the Christmas season in protest against the war in Vietnam. Meeting in

solemn conclave, the educators adopted a policy that any student wearing an armband in school would be asked to remove it. Should he refuse, he would be suspended until he returned without the armband. On December 16, Mary Beth Tinker, age thirteen, and a friend, Christopher Eckhardt, sixteen, went to classes wearing black armbands. John Tinker, fifteen, did the same the next day. The three were suspended.

In February 1969, the Supreme Court decided that the wearing of an armband is "symbolic speech" and is thereby protected under the First Amendment. The Court held that students are indeed "persons" under the Constitution and therefore have fundamental rights, which school authorities must respect. Moreover, the right to self-expression, linked with "personal intercommunication among students," is an "important part of the educational process." Or, as the *Harvard Law Review* distilled the significance of the case, "the Court adopted the view that the process of education in a democracy must be democratic."

Another vital element in *Tinker* was the assertion by the Court that "a student's rights . . . do not embrace merely the classroom hours. When he is in the cafeteria, or on the playing field, or on the campus during the authorized hours, he may express his opinions, even on such controversial subjects as the war in Vietnam, if he does so 'without materially and substantially interfering with appropriate discipline in the operation of the school' and without colliding with the rights of others."

Mere speculation or fear that disruption will follow the exercise of this right does not, the Court made clear, justify the curbing of students' expression of opinion. "In our system," the Court instructed the educators, "undifferentiated fear or apprehension of disturbance is not enough to overcome the right to freedom of expression. Any departure from absolute regimentation may cause trouble. Any variation from the majority's opinion may inspire fear. Any word spoken, in class, in the lunchroom, or on the campus, that deviates from the views of another person may start an argument or cause a disturbance. But our Constitution says we must take this risk . . . and our history says that it is this sort of hazardous freedom—this kind of openness—that is the basis of our national strength and of the independence and vigor of Americans who grow up and live in this relatively permissive, often disputatious, society."

In the *Tinker* decision, the Court referred to an earlier Mississippi case, *Burnside* v. *Byars* (1966), in which the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit had decided that students could not be suspended for wearing buttons saying

"Freedom Now." Approvingly, the Supreme Court cited a point made by Judge Gewin, speaking for the Fifth Circuit, that school officials cannot suppress "expressions of feelings with which they do not wish to contend."

And that includes expressions of feelings that may run abrasively counter to the notion of many school officials that the inculcation of patriotism is one of their primary educative roles. In the *Tinker* case, the Court also referred back to *West Virginia* v. *Barnette*, in which it had already held that the state has no power to compel anyone to pledge allegiance to the flag. The student at issue happened to have been a Jehovah's Witness, but the Court made clear that the issue did not turn on "one's possession of particular religious views. . . . The action of the local authorities in compelling the flag salute and pledge transcends Constitutional limitations on their power and invades the sphere of intellect and spirit, which it is the purpose of the First Amendment to our Constitution to reserve from all official control."

Yet, as clear as that 1943 decision was, schools throughout the country continue to ignore the Constitution and to require the saluting of the flag and the pledging of allegiance. It wasn't until September of last year, for example, that a circuit court judge in Maryland overturned that state's law requiring all students and teachers in Maryland public schools to begin each day with a pledge of allegiance to the flag.

In a number of more "sophisticated" school jurisdictions, officials, grudgingly adhering to the letter of the 1943 decision, nonetheless suspend students who insist on sitting during the pledge of allegiance. In one such case, Federal Judge Anthony Travia in New York ruled in July 1970 that a Hicksville youngster could not remain seated because such action *might* lead the boy to become "a conspicuous and distracting force in the classroom."

The weight of Constitutional law is against Judge Travia. In a similar case, in December 1969 a federal judge in the same district, Orrin Judd, held that students do indeed have the Constitutional right to remain seated during the pledge rather than stand silently or leave the room. Citing both the *Barnette* and *Tinker* decisions, Judge Judd noted that "fear of disorder . . . has been ruled out as a ground for limiting peaceful exercise of First Amendment rights." In August 1970, a panel of three federal judges in New Orleans came to the same conclusion, ruling that the Miami school board could not punish students who insist on staying seated during the pledge of allegiance.

In addition to those students who stubbornly hold on to

their right to witness against the pledge, there are many more who engage in an "expression of feeling"—and attitude—with which school officials also do not wish to contend, except summarily, their choice of hairstyle and dress. Throughout the country, students are harassed, punished, and even suspended and expelled because of the way they choose to appear. The best brief analysis I have seen of this issue—from both the perspective of Constitutional law and that of educating young people to be free citizens—is in a letter to the superintendent and school board of a district in the state of Washington. The writer, Dr. Daniel Larner, president of the local ACLU branch, points out to these school authorities that by banning "unusual" hair and dress, "you tell your students by your actions that it is acceptable to condemn and repress deviations from the norm (whatever they may be). Yet, our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, which protects every one of us, allows us the liberty of our person and the freedom to express ourselves as we choose. The invasion of privacy involved in these regulations not only is un-Constitutional but threatens the very maintenance of our democratic institutions. Without any differences, how can there be anything resembling democracy?"

Increasingly, the courts, with some exceptions, are agreeing with Dr. Larner. A focal case—since cited in many other court decisions—is *Breen* v. *Kahl* (1969), in which the expulsion of an eleventh-grade student for violating school hair regulations was held un-Constitutional. In affirming that decision, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit stated flatly: "The right to wear one's hair at any length or in any desired manner is an ingredient of personal freedom protected by the United States Constitution." There have been parallel court rulings in Illinois, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Indiana, Nebraska, and California, among other states.

Some hair cases, to be sure, have been lost by students. Usually this has happened because of a certain vagueness in part of the *Tinker* decision. The Supreme Court had held that a student may exercise his Constitutional rights if he does so "without materially and substantially interfering with appropriate discipline in the operation of the school." In some cases, school authorities have been able to persuade judges that the wearing of long hair might well lead to the distraction of anti-long-hair students and the disruption of classes. The tide, however, is running strongly the other way. And in August of last year, in a significant decision, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, affirming *Crews* v. *Cloncs* (1969), ruled

that a school could not claim that the wearing of long hair was "inherently distracting" to other students unless it had taken clear steps to control or punish those students it claimed would cause disruption because one of their peers chose to wear his hair long. A long-haired student, the court declared, should not be made to forgo his rights "because his neighbors have no self-control."

But even in districts in which the courts have unequivocally declared hair and dress regulations un-Constitutional, school authorities often continue to resist the decisions. "Superintendents have actually said they don't care what the courts say," notes Ed McManus of the Milwaukee ACLU. "One of them admitted he knew perfectly well the courts would rule against his regulations, but he figured it would be a lengthy and difficult process for the kids and their parents. So the odds were that there would be few challenges, and even those might not go the whole route. He's right. The odds are with him. In one Wisconsin school, for instance, a very bright kid grew a beard and was punished by being removed from an accelerated course. When we went to court, the school backed down but went on harassing him in other ways. We could have won on those harassments, too, but it was a rural school and the parents are just not willing to lay themselves open to that much community criticism.

"No matter what the courts say," McManus adds—and nearly every other ACLU affiliate director agrees—"you have to keep on fighting to get individual principals and school boards to respect the Constitution. And sometimes they're just plain devious. *Tinker* is clear that a student cannot be suspended for wearing an armband, for example, but the school principal may decide that the Supreme Court said nothing about keeping the 'offending' student after school. And that's what he'll do."

And although, as I've noted, the *Crews* case is an important decision, the Indiana Civil Liberties Union warns: "Despite *Crews,* and despite the fact that the Indiana State School Board Association agrees with us on the law, . . . school administrators all around Indiana have been lawlessly refusing to admit students because of their hair."

As resistant as many of them are to freedom of student expression as exemplified by long hair, school authorities tend to be even more opposed to freedom of written expression either in school newspapers or in outside material circulated within the school. Yet, in this area too, the courts, with some exceptions, are affirming First Amendment freedoms for students. One of the key cases is *Scoville* v. *Board of Education of Joliet Township* (1970). Two high

school students had been expelled for distributing an underground newspaper. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit declared the expulsions un-Constitutional, asserting explicitly that "high school students are persons entitled to First and Fourth Amendment protections."

There have been similar decisions in, among other states, Connecticut, Texas, and New York. Again not all cases have been won, but the direction of court opinion is toward broadening high school students' rights to publish and distribute their views. Censorship of school papers and the banning of outside material remain the normative conditions in most schools; but now, when these restrictions are challenged, the burden is increasingly on school authorities to prove that unfettered freedom of expression will lead to substantial disorder in the school or to infringement on the rights of others.

So far, I have focused entirely on what might be termed psychic injuries to high school students' sense of themselves as free citizens or as young men and women learning how to be free. What has astounded me, in the course of preparing this article, is the continued presence in parts of this country of school authorities who still assault children *physically*.

Corporal punishment in the public schools is permitted in forty-nine states. Although the practice is slowly diminishing, physical punishment is still administered with righteous zeal in many school districts. "Schools," says Carolyn Schumacher of the Committee for the Abolition of Corporal Punishment in Pittsburgh, "are the last place in this country where people can legally be beaten. It has been a hundred years or more since wives and sailors were legally allowed to be flogged. The continuing use of the paddle—and similar weapons—by school administrators and teachers serves to teach violence as a 'solution' to problems."

The most virulent center of corporal punishment among the nation's schools is Dallas. In that city, principals and assistant principals can and do beat children without parental consent, although there are theoretically more stringent "controls" on teachers. In May 1970, a student at Sara Zumwalt Junior High School in Dallas was knocked unconscious by a teacher engaged in enforcing discipline. Dr. William Barris, while medical director for the Dallas Independent School System, cited cases of permanent injury caused by paddling. The leg of one boy, for example, after he had been whipped with a thick, wooden board, atrophied as a result of nerve damage. Dr. Barris is no longer part of the Dallas school system.

A Dallas parent, Marshall Ware, tells of the experience

of two of his sons in the Dallas schools: "Our fourteen-year-old—IQ 121—has a minimal brain dysfunction symptomized by visual-motor problems, short attention span, clumsiness, and spelling/writing difficulties. Labeling this as 'not paying attention' and 'laziness' has resulted in spankings from the first grade—plus ridicule and the destruction of his dignity by teachers."

The boy's parents placed him in the Angie Nall School-Hospital for Educational Retraining in Beaumont. But who *really* needed the "educational retraining"?

The Wares' sixteen-year-old son has a high IQ and is characterized by his parents as "sensitive to hypocrisy. He has the problem of being outspoken and can be profiled by the typical undesirable teen-age characteristics as outlined by Gesell, Ilg, and Ames. The school, trying to train him through regular paddling, caused him to become a behavior problem and his grades to drop from Bs to Ds and Fs in all classes. He is now having regular psychiatric sessions. We have doubts that he will ever be interested in high school again—but we do hope he will cease to be uninterested in living."

A Dallas principal, defending corporal punishment, reasons: "It's the only way to get through to them." And School Superintendent Nolan Estes informed the approving majority of the school board last year that he would not want to head a school district that did not allow principals to paddle at their discretion.

So far there have been few court cases on the right of students to be protected from physical punishment. In *Murphy* v. *Kerrigan* (1970), the United States District Court in Massachusetts decreed that the Boston school board and its employees be "permanently enjoined from imposing corporal punishment in any form under any circumstances against any Boston public school students."

That case, however, was settled by stipulation between the parties before trial. What may turn out to be a more influential case has been entered in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Texas. Among the plaintiffs are Marshall Ware and his son Douglas. They claim that "the infliction of corporal punishment on its face 'deprives' all public school students as well as Plaintiff . . . of 'liberty without due process of law.' " Also at Constitutional issue are charges that corporal punishment constitutes "cruel and unusual punishment" and abridges the "privileges and immunities" of students, including their rights to physical integrity and dignity of personality in violation of the Fourth, Eighth, Ninth, and Fourteenth Amendments.

With specific regard to the due process elements of the

case, the suit noted that corporal punishment is routinely inflicted in the Dallas schools, without a hearing for students and parents. Nor is there any advance notice of charges. But due process procedures are absent not only when a student is paddled. Across the board and across the country, as Eleanor Holmes Norton, chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, has underlined, "the schools—which have the primary responsibility for teaching young people the importance of due process in a free society—fail to adhere to the principle of due process more than any other institution except, perhaps, the military."

In many parts of the country, denial of due process is customary in the most severe punishments a school can inflict: suspension and expulsion. In *Breen* v. *Kahl*, the court stated that "when a school board undertakes to expel a public school student"—and suspension, it should be added, is only one step before termination—that board, or a similar authority, "is undertaking to apply the terrible organized force of the state, just as surely as it is applied by the police, the courts, the prison warden, or the militia."

And yet, particularly with regard to suspensions, due process is an alien concept in many school districts. An ACLU lawyer in Indianapolis: "There is no procedure for hearings at any time with the board, or with anyone else, on a suspension case." An ACLU lawyer in Denver: "A principal can suspend for up to five days and can suspend repeatedly. There's no administrative appeal or impartial hearing. There's no notification before the fact. The procedure for expulsion is even more un-Constitutional. First it gets under way, and then the parent is told when it's effective. Theoretically, an appeal is possible, but it rarely happens, simply because parents just don't know. If they do find out, the presence of a lawyer is allowed at that hearing; but the way it's set up now the burden of proof is on the parent." Asked about students' procedural rights in Virginia, an ACLU attorney answered: "They just don't exist."

Nearly ten years ago, however, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit decided in *Dixon* v. *Alabama State Board of Education* (1961) that students are entitled to notice, an opportunity to be heard, and a chance to present a defense against specific charges in the face of injurious governmental acts. But, as in most other areas of constitutionally protected rights, in suspension and expulsion cases the majority of school administrators persist in excluding their students from the guarantees of the Constitution.

Yet another area in which students' Constitutional rights are ignored is the way pupil records are handled. At issue is chronic invasion of privacy. A Russell Sage Foundation report, *Guidelines for the Collection and Dissemination of Pupil Records,* has observed: "Virtually all school systems maintain extensive pupil records containing, in addition to a pupil's attendance and achievement records, standardized test scores, personality data, information on family background and current status, health data, teacher and counselor observations, anecdotal records, and so on. Despite this fact, very few systems have clearly defined and systematically implemented policies regarding uses of information about pupils, the conditions under which such information is collected, and who may have access to it."

"We found," says Dr. Orville Brim, Jr., president of the foundation, "that there is a lot of release of school-recorded data to unauthorized inquirers—the courts, the police, social welfare agencies—without the parents or the child having the right to know who is getting such information. Furthermore, it is very difficult for the parent to get information about his own child from school files. Typically, parents and students have little, or at best incomplete, knowledge of what's in there."

In many cases, these pupil records include adverse information about a child. Teacher and counselor comments, for instance, are often not checked and are based on hearsay or personality conflict between the student and the person entering the judgment in his record. When made a permanent part of a youngster's file, as often happens, such data can certainly affect college admission or employment prospects.

Among the revelations of a recent New York City Board of Education investigation into the misuse of pupil records was an encounter between a bright student and a teacher who disliked him, in which the teacher promised, "I'll see that you don't get into any college or get a good job." And, indeed, in the pupil's record there was a subsequent notation characterizing him as a "rabble-rouser and troublemaker."

The Russell Sage Foundation report urges that "no information should be collected from students without the prior informed consent of the child and his parents" and that no information be given to anyone outside the school system without "written consent from the student's parents specifying records to be released, and to whom, and with a copy of the records to be released to the student's parents and/or student if desired by the parents"—except in com-

pliance with judicial order. In addition, files containing possibly damaging information about a student should be periodically destroyed.

As with other rights of students under the Constitution, these recommendations are not likely to be widely implemented without persistent pressure on school authorities from students and parents, including, but not limited to, the filing of law suits.

One useful approach to securing students rights, for example, is the planning of Student Bill of Rights proposals. A number of them have been advanced by students, often with the cooperation of ACLU affiliates, in California, Pennsylvania, Washington, Maryland, and other states. These are not simply rhetorical exercises. They are part of an attempt to establish an operative definition of student liberties, rights, and responsibilities—the formulation of which students are to have full participation in—with boards of education and their equivalents throughout the country.

With a clear set of guidelines on paper, it can become much easier for many school administrators to come to terms with the Constitution. Some of them, I suppose, will never be able to admit that a student is indeed protected by that document. But most are men of reasonably good will, who might welcome an agreement on this matter among students, school boards, and themselves. Harried as they are, the removal of at least this weight might be a considerable relief.

So testifies the principal of Ellensburg High School in a small town in the state of Washington. There, after a hair and dress code had been agreed to by students and administrators, the principal observed: "I didn't like the students coming in with facial hair, but it was getting so that I was spending much of my time hassling with them about it. They were getting mad and I was getting mad. Now we've got the whole thing written down, and although I still don't like it, I recognize that my opinion is different from what I know to be the rightness of the case. It's a relief to be able to get on with the real business of being in school."

A citywide, relatively comprehensive policy statement, "Rights and Responsibilities of Senior High School Students," was adopted by the New York City Board of Education in July 1970. While not flawless from a civil liberties viewpoint, the guidelines do expand the rights and liberties of students with regard to free speech, assembly, publication and distribution of literature, and hair and dress styles.

In Philadelphia, after more than a year of work by a joint committee of administrators, students, parents, faculty, and

ACLU staff, the Philadelphia Board of Education last December adopted a "Bill of Rights for High School Students." Among the provisions:

- The rights and limits of students respecting freedom of speech, press, and assembly shall be in accord with the First Amendment of the United States Constitution. . . .
- Students shall have the right to counsel and due process procedures in the matters of suspension, transfer, and expulsion. . . .
- Students shall not be subjected to corporal punishment. . . .

The school systems of Philadelphia, New York, and Ellensburg, however, are still very much the exceptions. For most secondary school students, the battle goes on to win protection under the Constitution. Toward the end of last year, the Center for Research and Education in American Liberties at Teachers College, Columbia University, surveyed the attitudes of nearly 7,000 American students. The center concluded that most of the clashes and tensions in junior and senior high schools are in reaction to the ways in which those institutions are governed.

"The great majority of the students," says Dr. Alan Westin, director of the center, "are angry, frustrated, increasingly alienated by school. They do not believe they receive individual justice or enjoy the rights of dissent or share in critical decision-making affecting their lives within the school. Our schools are now educating millions of students who are not forming an allegiance to the democratic political system, simply because they do not experience such a democratic system in their daily lives in school."

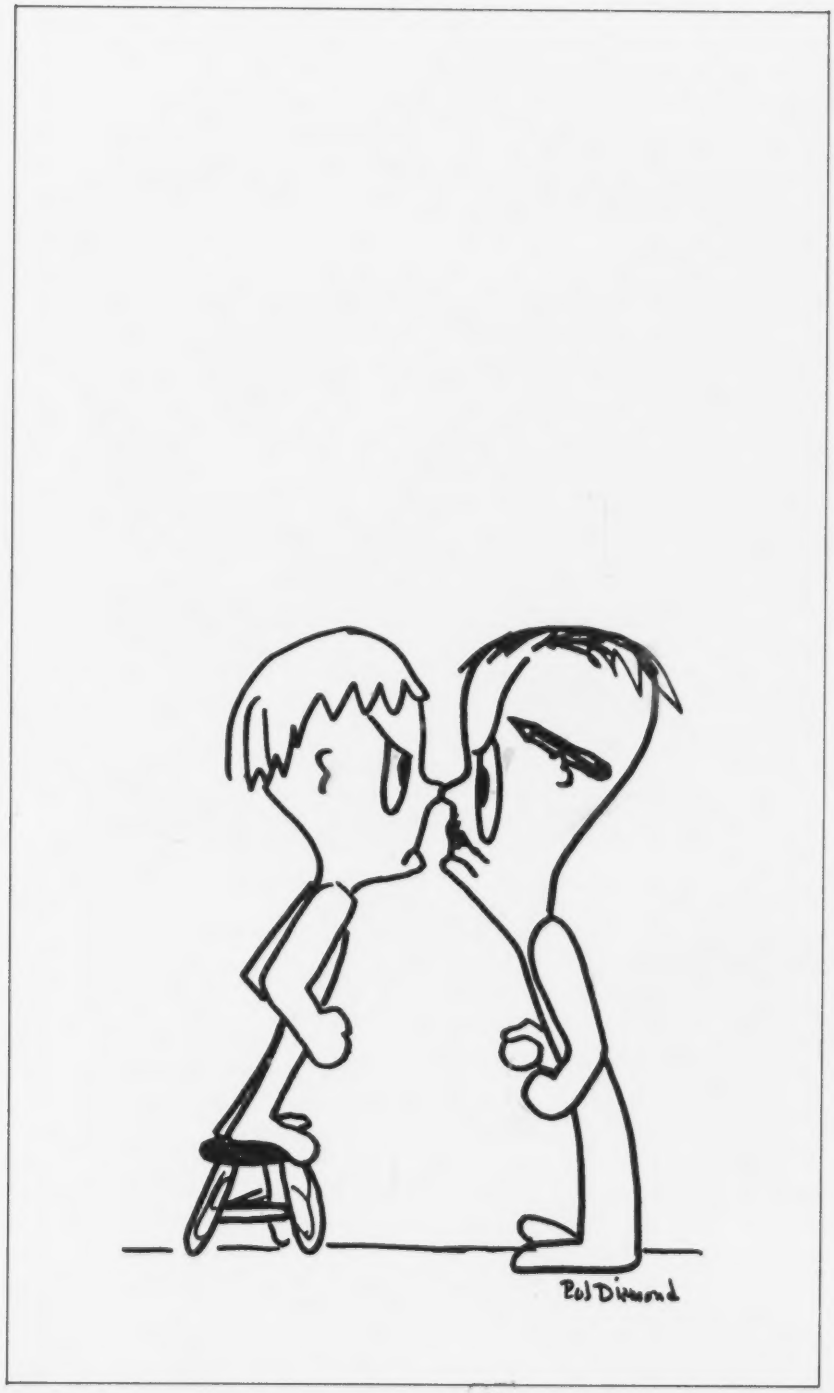
A young man at Rufus King High School in Milwaukee speaks for many students, in rural and urban schools, in suburbs, and in ghettos: "They give us a whole lot of language about responsibility. They punish us for lateness and bad attendance and how we dress and what we say, and we don't have a damn thing to say about any of what they call our education. They claim they're trying to teach us responsibility. But what they're doing has nothing to do with responsibility. It's force. If they really cared about our being responsible, they'd treat us like human beings. They'd listen to us once in a while. The kids here just aren't interested in school, because the whole system is so hypocritical and cynical. It's *got* to be, to treat us this way."

Meanwhile, the battle for student rights intensifies. In March of this year, U.S. District Court Judge Joe Eaton stunned school authorities in Miami by ordering the principal of Douglas MacArthur Junior-Senior High School to reimburse seventeen-year-old Timothy Pyle $182 in court costs and $100 for damages. The principal had expelled

Pyle the year before because of the length of his hair. Subsequently, a school admissions committee met in June 1970 and decided that Pyle would not be readmitted for the following academic year. The court declared that both the initial expulsion and the decision by the admissions committee violated the seventeen-year-old's Constitutional rights.

Judge Eaton also made "permanent and perpetual" a previous injunction prohibiting the principal or anyone else from using dress codes to "expel, suspend, or impose sanctions" on Pyle and all present and future students at MacArthur "because of the length of their hair." The principal was mandated to reinstate the young man and to help him in "remedying or alleviating lost school time." Moreover, all statements of previous reprimands, suspensions, and expulsions were to be removed from the student's record.

Pyle's suit was in cooperation with the ACLU; and the Florida affiliate believes that the awarding of compensatory damages in this case signals a new breakthrough in student rights. Other students may now decide to sue for damages—just like other American citizens.


Rod Diamond

PART II

Student Activism

Section 1: *Overview*

STUDENT ACTIVISTS

LARRY CUBAN

High school is America. Listen to writer Kurt Vonnegut quote a friend:

> When you get to be our age, you all of a sudden realize that you are being ruled by people you went to high school with. You all of a sudden catch on that life is nothing *but* high school. You make a fool of yourself in high school, then you go to college to learn how you should have acted in high school, then you get out into real life, and that turns out to be high school all over again—class officers, cheerleaders, and all.

Vonnegut continued:

> He was right.
>
> High school is closer to the core of the American experience than anything else I can think of . . . . We have all been there. While there, we saw nearly every form of justice, injustice, kindness and meanness, intelligence and stupidity which we were likely to encounter in later life.[1]

I agree that high school is America writ small. The ennui, hypocrisy, destructive competitiveness, materialism and racism as well as the excitement, sincerity, cooperation, idealism and concern for the individual that swirl through America also course through the classrooms, hallways, washrooms, gyms, cafeterias and auditoriums of secondary schools.

Is, then, the recent wave of student activism across the country merely a microscopic acting out of larger national forces? Yes and no. Clearly, racial, political and economic issues dividing a community inevitably penetrate the school; to that degree, insurgency in the high schools mirrors the larger arena; parental demands for community control or an end to bussing often end up being debated over lunch or acted out in the halls. On the other hand, the recent upsurge of dissent in secondary schools is more complicated than an automatic knee-jerk response to external conditions. Student demands to dress as they wish, have more freedom of movement, and to get better food in the cafeteria—while reflecting societal issues—explode over conditions that touch millions of secondary school students and not the rest of society. Recall there have been other times of national turmoil when the schools were "quiet" and largely unresponsive to larger issues. How many of my "silent" generation remember the McCarthy years (Joseph, not Eugene)? Even a decade ago in the midst of a civil rights movement sweeping across the South and then just getting underway in the North, one educator wrote that "it is now unheard of for a school to be closed because the students are out of control."[2] Then, he was right. The unanswered question, and to me the most important one, about student activism is: *why now?*

Before trying to analyze the sources of student dissent, some statistics are necessary to sketch out the dimensions of the activism that erupted in high schools in the late 1960's.

Some form of protest, according to a study conducted by the National Association of Secondary School Principals in 1968-1969, occurred in three of every five secondary schools. Surprisingly, activism was not confined to the high schools; protest took place in over half of all the junior high schools surveyed. A walkout, boycott, sit-in or other form of protest was as likely to happen in New York City or suburban Wellesley, Massachusetts, as in Kingsville, Texas. Although more than 80% of urban senior high schools reported protest acts, this was no big-city phenomenon.

Eighty-two percent of the principals surveyed said school rules were the focus of dissent; 45% of the protest was aimed at the instructional program; while 25% of the administrators said dissent at their schools was directed at national issues such as racism. Anti-Vietnam and anti-draft activism was infrequent. Less than three percent of the protest was identified as related to the war. Moreover, there was little agitation from organized groups. Only five percent of those polled answered that Students for a Democratic Society (or similar organizations) sparked dissent.[3]

In another study of high school disruptions over a four-month period in 1969, causes for protest were:[4]

132 racial discrimination
81 political (anti-Vietnam, draft, etc.)
71 against dress codes
60 against disciplinary practices
17 educational reforms

All of these statistics add up to a forceful challenge of the school's authority to operate in a business-as-usual manner. The old armorplate of *in loco parentis* has been riddled into a sieve by court decisions, underground newspapers and aggressive student dissent.

Explanations for Dissent

What's bothering students? Why all the conflict in schools? All sorts of explanations for dissent spilled forth almost as quickly as the non-negotiable demands of student protestors. To some observers, high school kids were just copycatting college kids. And, clearly, junior high schoolers were imitating older brothers and sisters. Yet many high schools in cities with exploding colleges had no disruptions. Moreover, both the issues and the form of school protests often differed. An influence, definitely, but the root cause—probably not.

Some saw a more sinister design in agitators from college campuses and community invading the schools to spread their doctrines. When Stokely Carmichael or the local black militant came to a school, the next day the school was supposed to walk out. Students for a Democratic Society-types were supposed to be behind every boycott and disruption. This theory of causation was candidly stated by B. Frank Brown of I/D/E/A, an educational research organization.

> The current wave of organized high school revolt has its origin in a position paper prepared by a Los Angeles high school student for the Students for a Democratic Society in 1965. This paper, entitled "High School Reform," was circulated in mimeographed form for a couple of years and published for wider distribution by the SDS in 1967. The purpose of the position paper was to inform high school students in the best techniques for taking over a high school.[5]

If SDS was behind all of the activism, they must have been on roller skates. High schools in rural areas, small towns and cities that had never heard of SDS (and probably that SDS had never heard of either) had activist students protesting. If agitators from SDS or other groups were re-

sponsible for all the protests, then each disruption should have unfurled step by step in blueprint fashion. While certain similar patterns emerged, no conspiracy of action has ever been revealed.

Other observers point to the usual adolescent rebelliousness that marks this particular age group. After all, the explanation goes, they are just doing what all young people do—blow off steam, finding themselves, etc. While there is much that is adolescent in the upsurge of dissent, there are thousands of the 26,000 secondary schools in the country that have never experienced walkouts or other disruptions. Such schools, full of adolescents, didn't have a showdown between activist students and the principal or some such thing. Why? As a single cause, it won't wash.

Another popular explanation for student dissent points to the family. Children raised without limits, free to watch TV all day, their appetites continually satisfied, such children are outraged when authority figures say "no." Having never heard "no" at home, the argument runs, such young people are always testing the limits: "How far can we go in getting what we want?" Yippie leader Jerry Rubin connects up activism with child-rearing when he described his upbringing.

> They wanted a child so badly that they would do anything for me. They had total dedication to me. And that's the kind of a key as to why I could become so rebellious. See, my father would put his foot down. He'd punish me—turn me over his knee or even slug me. But he didn't really mean it. I knew they loved me so much that if I cried I'd get my way. If I screamed I'd get my way. If I insisted I'd get my way. It was really total toleration, total permissiveness. Many of the tactics I now use I learned at home. I learned how to play one parent off against another, because my mother didn't really approve of some of my father's methods. A kid is brilliant that way, you know, he can really pick up all sorts of non-verbal things. He knows just what will happen if he cries. Living in that home was like an education in psychological warfare. I'm really convinced that the whole of my recent activity in the movement has been a playing out on a massive political scale of the things I learned in the family.[6]

Yet, here too, as a root cause explanation it lacks comprehensiveness. While certain patterns of child-rearing may explain some dissenting behavior, the families of activist youth are very diverse. Some come from traditionally patriarchal homes; others come from homes where mothers bark out orders like platoon leaders. Some where Spock

reigned supreme; some where the back of the hand ruled. No clear-cut pattern of child-raising emerges as determining how young people relate to authority.

A related explanation for student unrest is found in the conflict between generations. Revolts erupt because of students' unconscious death wishes toward their fathers. The guilt and hatred that follow such feelings drive youth movements into violence and ultimately self-destruction. But the oedipal-rebellion theory ignores a number of things. First, why do some students rebel and not others; why do those from middle- and upper-class families rebel more often than those from low-income families? Presumably all would experience oedipal feelings. Furthermore, research reveals that most dissenters, contrary to this explanation, are not father-haters but frequently have strong, affectionate feelings toward parents as well as sharing their values.

Although these theories may have significance as possible factors influencing some individuals and some events, they are basically weak in explaining activism because they fail to deal with three key points. First, why have young people rebelled in the past half-decade and not at earlier times? Any valid analysis should deal with its unique appearance. Second, an explanation should accept what activist youths say are their grievances. Indicted as copycats, pawns of agitators, prisoners of how parents raised them or hostages to deep psychological forces—such theories unjustly ignore the very things that young people say are bothering them. Finally, a root-cause explanation should deal with the differences in style and aims between affluent white and black, low-income and middle-income protestors.

This probably sounds suspiciously like a setup for *the* explanation of all unrest. It isn't. There are still questions in my mind about what Kenneth Keniston sets forth as an explanation for this period of dissent. He does deal, however, with the three points just mentioned. Although his research has focused upon college activists, I find his theory applicable to public school protestors.

Basically, he says that what underlies student dissent is the convulsive converging of two social revolutions. The first began with the onset of industrialism and is for the extension of basic, democratic rights and affluence to all people. This unfinished revolution demands that the excluded—blacks, women, the poor, and ethnic groups—be granted the same rights, esteem and material abundance as affluent white Protestants. The excluded are to be included. This is a quantitative revolution stressing jobs, housing, education, income and rights.

"You have to have grown up in Scarsdale to know how bad things really are" sums up the rationale for the second revolution. Even with super-security, middle-class affluence, excellent schools, well-scrubbed and well-fed children, something is wrong. Many children of professionals, government officials, intellectuals who have made it believe that the first revolution is just around the corner; inclusion is in sight for the excluded. What needs to be done is to deal with the quality of life in a highly technological, organized society. There is too much bureaucracy, they say. Human beings are stifled. The price we have paid for industrialism and a high standard of living is a dirty environment; that price is too steep. Our cities and organizations are too big; people have to relate to one another. Coldness and rationality must give way to intimacy and feeling. This revolution raises questions about the meaning of life in a complex, post-industrial society; its concerns are beyond who has food in his belly.

The first revolution puts youth into Freedom Rides, VISTA, legal aid projects, voter registration campaigns, ghetto schools and a host of other efforts. The second revolution puts youth into "hippie" and "yippie" pursuits such as mind-expansion trips, participatory democracy, communes, free schools, and the search for openness, intimacy and continuing growth.

The last ten years have seen the coming together of these two social revolutions, thus accounting for much of the student activism.

While Keniston makes distinctions between the two revolutions, the two are often joined "and fused, if not confused," within student dissent. In most activist groups, he says, "there is a range of opinion that starts with the issues of the first (racism, exploitation, war) and runs to the concerns of the second (experimental education, new life styles, meaningful participation, consciousness expansion, relatedness, encounter and community)."[7]

This two-revolution theory explains, at least for me, why increasing unrest has developed in the 1960's and not in earlier decades when affluence was beyond most Americans; and black people, the poor, and unemancipated women had yet to burn into the consciousness of most white Americans. This explanation accepts what students grieve about as valid but places it in a historical context. Finally, it makes sense for me why the demands of black and white activists differed, often resulting in each going his separate way. Perhaps a word here on exactly who student activists are would be appropriate.

Who Are Student Activists?

How easy it would be to draw a portrait of a teenage Abbie Hoffman or adolescent H. Rap Brown as typical high school dissenters. Easy it might be but grossly inaccurate. What knowledge there is of public school activists—to flesh out a more accurate picture—comes from the numerous reports of principals, teachers and students; it comes from the underground press and research upon college protestors.

Most young people are not activists, that is, students who plan and take a major part in protest aimed at effecting changes. Estimates place the number of active dissenters at less than five percent of a school. The largest number of students cluster in the moderate range of a political continuum. They see school as preparation for a vocation. On particular issues, activists recruit their major supporters from this group, thus inflating the number of activists up to twenty percent and more of a student body. A police raid or principal suspension of key student leaders or the forced transfer of a popular teacher will mushroom the numbers of activist students. Nonetheless, the percentage of active protestors is slight.

Study after study confirms that both black and white activists are often above-average students with independent, inquiring minds. They place a high value on helping people, expressing their beliefs actively, and solving those problems that harm people. In short, what Keniston calls "protest-prone" individuals are idealistic and able, precisely those youths that schoolmen in past years were ecstatic over.

Yet to say all of this suggests a homogeneous quality. Not so. Given the two-revolution theory, activists can be divided into two kinds: the Excluded and the Solidly-In. Again, the types, while deriving from research among college students, are applicable to the high school level. Remember, too, that these are types and not meant to describe individuals.

The Excluded are Blacks, Chicanos, Indians and other ethnic students that want in. These activists demand ethnic studies, more ethnic teachers, equal treatment, respect and esteem, thereby separating them from the many white activists who pursue the goals of the second revolution.

Another kind of Excluded activist is the student who protests by truancy, vandalism, and control of hidden curricula of school life. What happens in the cafeteria and in the halls and in the auditorium is often shaped by a resentful truce between the administration and these

hostile protestors who want things their way. Watch what happens in an assembly that unrecognized student activists don't like or observe the flow of student life in the lunch room.

Seldom have these two kinds of Excluded worked together. One wonders what would happen if these two plus the white activists ever cooperated in their protest.

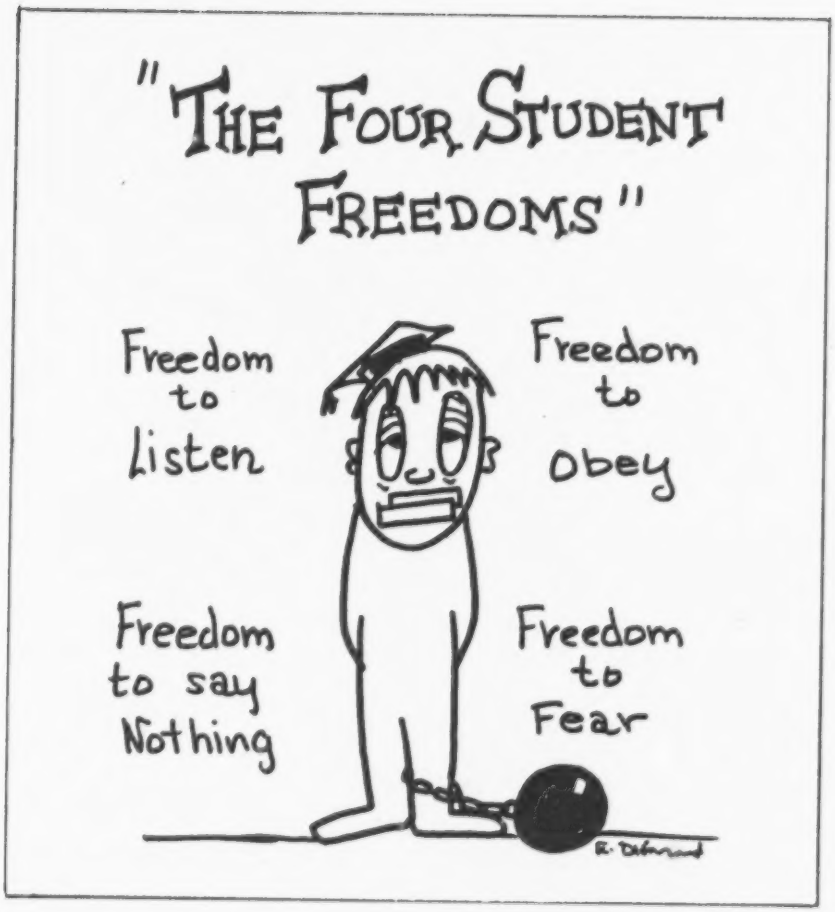
The Solidly-In are mostly affluent, white sons and daughters of professionals, executives, corporate managers and intellectuals. Security from want was guaranteed from birth. They do well in school, often scoring high on aptitude tests. Most are college-bound. Within this group, there are, according to Keniston, "activists" and "hippies." Activists are politically aware, well-read about Marxist and Maoist doctrines, in the front lines of peace demonstrations and educational reform efforts. "Hippies" experiment with drugs, create communes, religiously read *I Ching* and follow astrology. They are, for the most part, non-political, although their experimentation with drugs and life styles makes them cultural activists.

Schools and Activists

Consider the young people described here. Many secondary school activists are now thinking thoughts and experimenting with ideas as well as their bodies in a manner considered to be the province of adults a generation ago. The sixteen-year-old protestor today is probably performing at the same level intellectually and emotionally that college students performed a half-century ago. They certainly do more, seem to be concerned with more issues, and probably think about more things than their parents did at age sixteen. Yet most adult responsibilities and privileges still are two to five years away. And they have to sit in school six hours a day. *Six hours a day.*

Turn to the school again for here is where activism finds its outlet. Most junior and senior high schools are uniquely obsolete to handle the concerns of the Solidly-In and Excluded activists, and even the majority who seek schooling in order to choose a career.

Inflexibly tied to the conviction that the school must socialize the young and disseminate certain knowledge, there is little margin for accommodating dissent. Rhetoric about democracy and individual growth is fine for federal proposal grants and parent consumption but the fact remains that most schools, thus far, have few effective mechanisms for involving students in shaping their education and for providing them with elementary civil liberties granted to other citizens.



The line between freedom and order—as defined by the school in its attempt to socialize the young—has seldom been drawn consistently. If too much emphasis was placed on order, the school was perceived by many students as either a factory or a jail; on the other hand, if too much emphasis was placed on student freedom and program flexibility, many students complained about the un-school-like climate and parents screamed about the breakdown in discipline or claimed the school was becoming a country club. As young dissenters increasingly challenged school authorities about the nature of authority, the line between freedom and order frazzled into uncertainty.

Unsurprisingly, much student activism has sharply focused upon the ill-defined area of students' rights and self-

government. What bothered activist students most—and the differences between secondary school and university protests are most obvious here—were rules that governed how students were to look, what they could say, what privacy they had, what organizations they could belong to, and what rights they had when they were accused of breaking school rules.

Most readers are familiar with the issues of long hair and whether girls should wear minis and slacks in white schools. Many people do not know, however, about the severely restrictive law and order pattern existing in ghetto schools.

When I began teaching in the late 1950's, black male students were not permitted to have processed hair, that is, hair that was straightened with a caustic solution. Such styling was expensive but greatly admired among black males at the time. When a student would have one, he would be summarily suspended for three days. In the early 1960's, when Malcolm X and other militants gained national publicity, goatees became popular. Along with mustaches, they were prohibited in the schools where I taught. Minis and fishnet body shirts were forbidden. Hemlines were measured in the assistant principal's office; girls suspected of being pregnant were called to the same office and cross-examined. Search and seizure missions through student lockers were commonplace. Once an official newspaper was crudely printed (it was before underground newspapers became chic); the principal of the school who styled herself as a compassionate libertarian immediately suspended the three editors of the sheet. Students accused of theft, insubordination or minor infractions were often psychologically harassed in a crude caricature of a scene from the local precinct back room. If the evidence pointed at the student, regardless of how fragmentary it was, he or she was expelled.

When I recall how many students were tossed out for breaking school regulations or for suspicious behavior, I shudder. I also shuddered when police were stationed in our school. At one school where I taught, after three students were knifed in the halls and a cache of pistols was discovered in a locker, alarmed parents and teachers demanded that police patrol the halls. The police were reassuring.

I did little more than shudder. Frankly, I was more concerned about my classes being uninterrupted by noise in the halls, and the fear that I and students had about trouble breaking out. Fear was not constant, but it did occur. If it took the expulsion of "troublemakers" and the patrolling of halls by community aides, I appreciated such actions.

I was unaware then, as most students were, of the au-

thoritarian nature of the schools. It seemed to be the natural order of things. Nor was the national climate of opinion receptive to expression of student activism in behalf of civil liberties. Times have changed but, in too many instances, conditions have not.

With the impatience generated by the converging of the two social revolutions, it is no wonder that school activists and partisan supporters continually use the analogy of prisons in protesting school conditions. Yet schools are not jails and students are not inmates. But administrative reluctance to deal with the issues of student rights encourages the powerful metaphor and stimulates overblown rhetoric indicting the schools as maximum-security institutions.

Court decisions have pressured some schools into permitting female students to wear slacks, male students to have hair down to wherever they want to have it, the sale of underground newspapers on school grounds, and the wearing of armbands or other symbols of dissent. Still, many schools continue to regulate hair and hem-length, heavily censor student publications, and prohibit any kind of protest in or near the building.

The problem is that court decisions apply to particular situations and have not laid down broad constitutional rights for students. Jean Strouse's *Up Against the Law*, a series of questions and answers about students' legal rights, continually answers questions about long hair or slacks in this manner: "Theoretically, yes—but again, it depends on the judge and circumstances of the case"; or "Still whether or not you can (do something) without getting into a legal battle depends on where you live."[8] While the Supreme Court ruled in *in re Gault* (1967) that "Neither the Fourteenth Amendment nor the Bill of Rights is for adults alone," established student rights are still hard to come by in the secondary school.

And so is democracy. Again the metaphor of the jail. If prison democracy is confined to voting nightly on what television programs to watch, activist students ask, "How different is that from student government debate on where to place litter baskets?" "You know," a student tells an interviewer, "the pathetic thing is *not* that student government activities are so piddling and meaningless. The pathetic thing is that we discuss and vote and carry out those activities *so solemnly*, as if they really *did amount to something*."[9]

Student government leaders seem to be most enthusiastic about self-government, although too often they speak of the joy of being elected rather than the experience of serving. Edgar Friedenberg put it more bluntly.[10]

> There is no public high school [he could have added junior highs as well] in which students possess any authority—as distinct from influence—and few in which they experience autonomy. There are, in short, no effective channels through which students can express their will. . . .

None of the schools I have taught in has had an active student government that dealt with substantive issues relating to the lives of students. The one year I was advisor to the student council, it was made very clear to me which areas of decision-making were closed to the council; it was unnecessary, since I and the students were not in the frame of mind to test to the limits. We planned carnivals, sponsored dances, put gaily decorated trash cans in the halls, and elected the Homecoming Queen. I don't think this experience is limited to the predominately black schools I worked in. As one suburban school student said, "responsibility (is) being tested in unimportant areas where it is safe."[11]

Student activism encompasses both out-of-school and in-school concerns. Such dissent resists the school's effort to define students as minors, people with few rights, thus, a minority. Activism is upsetting to teachers and administrators who must deal firsthand with protest, painful to parents who disagree with their children, and exhilarating, if not educational, albeit profoundly frustrating, to the young participants.

Much of the activism that I have experienced and observed firsthand was, in my opinion, constructive although personally painful. I saw it then and continue to see it as an essential but not sole ingredient to make high school a more humane, less inhuman place for both adults and young people.

Now newspapers report that student activism is waning. Sports, drinking, socializing are returning as prime interests of the young. Black Student Unions in many high schools report less activity. "Nobody's bugging anybody else," a high school activist tells a reporter. "There has been little tension," the student continues, "and no discussion of anti-war activity. It seems passé. The kids are not politically active. They seem to be turning inward. There has been big attendance at football games."[12] Perhaps. My guess is that the shape and form of activism will vary but will be present for many years to come. When it disappears, the schools will be, indeed, in worse shape than they are now.

If schools are America, student activism tries to bring out the finer, not the seamier, side of this nation's ideals.

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Section 2: *Viewpoints on "Student Activism"*

DIANNE, ROGER, AND MICHAEL SPEAK OUT

Three students tell what happened to their idealism. One youth, frustrated and even defeated by what she experienced, held on to her idealism. A second describes how he turned his feelings in directions that might change the school. And the third youth focused his idealism on helping his race.

DIANNE LINDEWALL*

Many Boston suburbs participate in a voluntary school integration plan called METCO, the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity, which buses urban Negro children to suburban schools. Last year Quincy was asked to accept 23 such Negro students. The Quincy School Committee voted against the proposal.

Dianne Lindewall is a senior at Quincy High School. This year she and many others students tried to convince their town to accept the METCO program.

INTERVIEW: QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS, May 8, 1968

DIANNE LINDEWALL: We began our whole project as a class project investigating urban affairs. We looked at the race problem in Quincy. There are only about 70 Negroes in

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Quincy and our population is over 80,000. So we decided to investigate. We wondered why we had turned down METCO. First we got a lot of information on the program itself and then we looked at our School Committee and interviewed them. They were very evasive—they discussed it only in broad generalities and abstractions. It was hard to know what their real reasons were for rejecting it. We were shocked that they did reject it. Most other towns around here have it and we wondered why not us. Then we were strongly affected by King's assassination and we wanted to do more than just use words and have a tribute assembly. So we decided to present a challenge to the School Committee. We wanted Quincy to have METCO. We met with a very strong negative reaction, and so we organized a petition and about 50 other students helped us get 2,200 signatures. We also had a student petition and got over 800 signatures for METCO in just two days. A few kids opposed it, but almost all were for it. We did not want an all-white school.

FIRST STUDENT: Many kids said their parents were ashamed and embarrassed that their kids wanted METCO. Some kids had to lie about where they were during the time they came to our meetings.

DIANNE: My parents were in agreement with me. They were only frightened about my getting involved. They were afraid I might be hurt. But my mother helped me—she even wrote letters. Her only thing against it was her worry about me.

FIRST STUDENT: My parents were behind me too.

SECOND STUDENT: My parents were scared. They weren't against it but they were scared.

DIANNE: People seem to oppose METCO for selfish reasons. They don't want to pay for others' education, and some just didn't know anything about the program—they thought we would have to send our kids to Roxbury—but most of them just don't want to know about it, and they will give every reason for not doing it except the METCO program itself. There is a lot of fear and prejudice. A lot moved here to get away, to get to a white community. Just the idea of Negroes coming scares them. They reacted not with reason but with emotion. They didn't want to discuss it. They gave all the excuses except the real ones. Most people just said no. A few seemed to have valid reasons. But what impressed us most was the fear.

SECOND STUDENT: My mother considers me a radical because of my dress, and we don't discuss the Negro at home. I think it was my friends who got me involved and interested.

DIANNE: My parents aren't liberal either, but we do discuss things a lot and we also disagree a lot. I really began to feel that I do talk a lot but it was time I should do something and not just talk.

The lack of concern of many people in Quincy bothered us more than anything else. They just weren't interested in the program. You know, their lack of concern is not just METCO; it's the whole thing—fair housing, real estate, and everything else. Quincy is such a white community. They should be concerned. It would be good to have Negro students in school. I'm prejudiced—all of us are prejudiced. How can we be anything else? We have never known a Negro. How can we ever act naturally with a Negro when we have never known one? Everything we know about Negroes is secondhand. It is most important for METCO to begin with the elementary grades so they don't grow up like we did—not knowing any Negroes.

I have never faced a community before. I have never challenged an administration before. I would not have known I would or could do this. I've always been outspoken with my parents and they don't mind, but that's different. You know, it was an emotional time with King's death. So many leaders in the city avoided the issue completely. They were more concerned with their own political future than they were with the issue of METCO and what it meant. I guess people are angry, afraid, and prejudiced, and they have a right to be, just as I have a right to be an idealist, and it isn't as clear-cut as just prejudice and you can't wipe it out all at once. But you've got to start.

What really bothers me is the lack of concern and the apathy. It's as if nothing outside Quincy mattered. Quincy should go out of its way to help others. Instead, it doesn't even go outside itself. It's not interested in anything outside itself.

I've never lived anywhere else so I really don't know other places. I've never seen the world. I love New England and will always want to live here. But I never got perspective on Quincy until I got involved in this. I've never been exposed to outsiders' attitudes towards my own community before. It's sort of like having an accent and not even knowing you have one until you go someplace else.

Dianne, Roger, and Michael Speak Out

A priest from Ireland who was visiting my parish also saw there was a big problem when he saw our suburbs and then he saw the cities. He knew something was wrong. The priests have really been very helpful to us.

Until the grown-ups are willing to take this over, we will just have to keep running it—but we don't want to. We want them to do it, we want it to be their concern. We don't want glory—we want the grown-ups to act. But we now know we can't change too many minds. It's hard, and we are a little discouraged.

We are changed, changed by a little crushed idealism. We are wiser about politicians and people. I never had a chance before to talk to irrational people and this has been a good experience, but it does make you lose some of your idealism. If growing up means I won't be an idealist, I'd rather stay an idealist and wait to grow up.

ROGER*

Roger is a black student from a large city in the eastern part of the country. He is a junior and attends an all-black school. He hopes to go to college.

We need to stop being treated like children. You have to realize that we are young men and women and some of our brothers are being drafted to go over there and fight. You are going to have to start relating to students and really giving them some meaningful position in the running of the school. The school is not there for the administrators and teachers; it is here for the students, so they should have some part in their education. The quality of that learning will be increased if students have an active, meaningful part in it—not just education as courses in the classrooms, but in outside activities, you know, and stop this fatherly bit by the administration—patting you on the shoulder and telling you whether you can do this or not.

You have just got to re-arrange the school so students

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really feel that it belongs to them; that it is their school. And doing this will help you with some of your so-called problems. You see, we find the administration is willing to let students run the social activities, but when students try to get involved in the education itself, they can't do that.

I found that our principal wasn't really concerned about the students—he just didn't want to rock the boat. The boat could sink, but just so it sank level, see—that's all he was concerned with. We have a new principal now, an acting principal. He is really concerned about the students. He is, you know, a man you can talk to and who will listen to you and, so far, he has gone along with what we say.

Right now a group of us are trying to work on a proposal for a meaningful, active student government to replace the current student council—that's supposed to be the thing that provides students with some school involvement. It really should be changed to the "social council" because that's all they do—they don't really do anything meaningful.

It's not a question of control, because there is nothing to control. The student council doesn't do anything, so it wouldn't matter if they were controlled or not. See, they don't function in areas that really would be reasonable to control. All they worry about is entertainment! The administration has come to the point where they will give us all the dances and parties we want, but you try and do anything that you feel is going to improve your education—they won't stand for that. That's not the job of the student council!

We also proposed a "Student Bill of Rights" which will tell those teachers who consider students subhuman that we have the same rights as they do and that "if they want me to respect them, they have to respect me, too." This is the third revision of it. We found that it doesn't violate any school board regulations, nor any teachers' union or administration contracts. We are also trying to take a student census and see what courses they want next year and what new courses they would like to be established. See, we found that if a group of 15 or more students got together and want a course, it's up to the administration to find a teacher and a classroom for that course. Students didn't know about this. That's how we got our two new courses.

Before that, we had a boycott that shook up the administration, and they got on this "giving us everything we wanted" policy. We talked with the principal in September and October and November. He said he had been working on Negro history for 3 years, and that it would take time. The day after the boycott we had a meeting with some of the

administrative and faculty representatives, and the next day we had our two courses. They gave us social-psychology and Negro history, but they didn't let anybody sign up for them. At the beginning of the semester they told us about the new courses, and some seniors signed up. Sophomores and juniors heard about them and said, "Well, you can't take it because you didn't sign up for it in September." "But the course was only started in February." "Well, that doesn't matter."

So a lot of people didn't get to take it, because at first they were only offering the courses to seniors. The administration does little things like that then quickly reverses itself and says, "Oh, that was a mistake. We didn't mean to do that," you know, when they are caught being sneaky.

MICHAEL BLAKEY*

Michael Blakey, who served as president of the Black Student Union at a Washington, D.C. high school, is a student who stressed the importance of action now.

"I guess I'm the type of a cat that my parents told me to keep away from."

Michael Blakey, 17, was sprawled on the blue wall-to-wall carpet of his parents' living room, wearing heavy boots, black trousers, a black turtleneck sweater and a black beret.

"Basic black," he called it, "like my skin."

Near the picture window there was a guitar, a conga drum, and several hundred dollars worth of amplifiers. Near them was a spear and a heavy, lacquered club.

Blakey was surrounded by friends, talking about the black student walkouts last month that they helped to plan at four Washington high schools. But the split-level house, [in Northwest Washington], seemed remote from any turmoil, its neighborhood almost encircled by Rock Creek Park, its back yard only a few hundred feet from the Montgomery County line.

Blakey's father is a dentist; his grandfather was a physician.

*From "Revolt Climbs Social Ladder" by Lawrence Feinberg in *The Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., March 8, 1970. Copyright © *The Washington Post*. Reprinted with permission.

"They both worked hard, and they made it," Blakey said, "even though they're black."

Two summers ago . . . Blakey worked at the Smithsonian Institution, measuring skulls and writing a research paper for the physical anthropology department.

Last summer . . . he mopped floors for the D.C. recreation department and worked with young children.

"I wanted to do something meaningful for my people," he said.

This fall Blakey became the "ghana," or president, of the Black Student Union at Coolidge, and turned most of its meetings, which usually attract 20 to 35 students, into classes. The works studied include Eldridge Cleaver, Marx and Mao.

He also took a Swahili name, Rasuli Askari Ben Keteous. Rasuli means "the prophet"; Askari, "the soldier." Ben Keteous means son of Katus, which is the first name of Blakey's father.

Organized Walkouts

In early February, Blakey said, he was part of a group of about 25 students from several schools who got together and organized a week of walkouts and disruptions at four of the city's 11 academic high schools.

"It was a coordinated effort by all the black student unions," Blakey said in an interview on WTOP-TV.

Later, he explained, "The BSU at Western called the meeting. We had to make some type of protest, a boycott that was connected through all the schools, so you'd have more than one school go off . . . to try to show more of our power."

Blakey went to Western . . . on Monday, Feb. 9, and spoke to an assembly. Afterwards, a widespread two-day boycott began, ending only after an announcement that principal Sidney Zevin had resigned.

On Tuesday, Blakey was at Roosevelt High School, 13th and Upshur Streets NW, along with a few students from Wilson and about 70 from Western. But police patrolled the school steps and, despite chants of "Walk out, walk out," only about 30 Roosevelt students left the building.

On Wednesday a false fire alarm emptied Wilson High School, Nebraska Avenue and Chesapeake Street NW. A group of black students—several from other schools—ran up a black, red, and green black liberation flag on the flagpole. Nearly all students returned to class except for a group of about 150 Negroes who previously had been given permission to attend a meeting at American University.

Dianne, Roger, and Michael Speak Out

Blakey called for a walkout at Coolidge at the end of an assembly on Thursday. To press the point, groups of students in Army jackets and black berets went from room to room, shouting, "School is out." During the confusion, one teacher was held up in her classroom at gunpoint. The school was disrupted so severely that it was closed an hour early.

As school board member Mattie G. Taylor pointed out the next day, the three schools where there had been the greatest disruption—Western, Coolidge and Wilson—have the most affluent students in the city, and, compared to other schools, relatively few pupils from low-income families.

Two of them—Wilson and Western—are the only high schools in Washington with a substantial number of whites. (Coolidge, which had a white majority until about 10 years ago, now has 1,700 Negro students and only 34 whites.)

On standardized reading tests, students at all three schools average at or above the national norms.

Yet, while disorders occurred at these relatively "good" high schools, classes went normally at Cardozo and Dunbar, the two high schools in the city's poorest neighborhoods and with lowest reading scores.

Middle-Class Planners

Blakey said that almost all of the students in the group that planned the protests are middle-class Negroes like himself. . . .

Blakey emphasized that the student boycotts were not "led" by outsiders. But he acknowledged getting outside help "when the students asked for it."

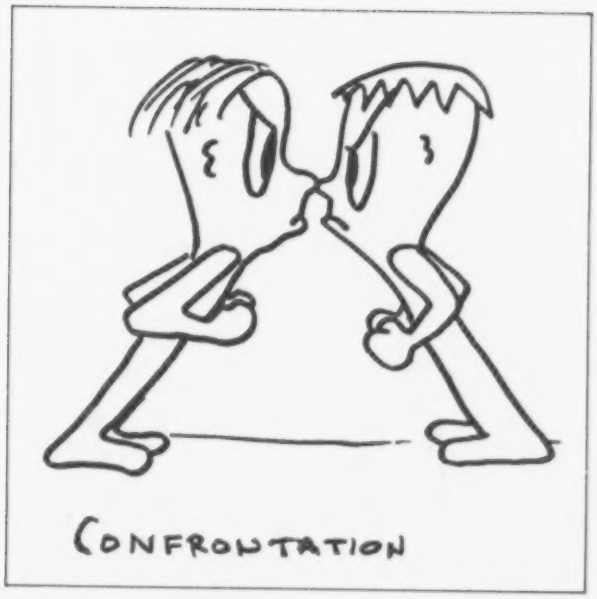
In the television interview he said that some boycott leaflets were mimeographed at the local headquarters of the Black Panthers in [Northwest Washington].

One of the leaflets distributed at several schools on Friday, after the walkouts, was an attack on Assistant School Superintendent George Rhodes, who went from school to school during the week as a troubleshooter. Rhodes often made conciliatory statements to the boycotters, but the handbill called these "pacifying lies which only lead to more lies."

"Students (are) on the move in a revolutionary groove," the leaflet proclaimed. "Student power to the students who deserve it. All power to the people."

It added: "Uncle Rhodes has to be told that the boycotts are only warnings of worse things to come."

Maurice Lawrence, former minister of information of the Black Student Union at Coolidge, dropped out of classes in



December, Blakey said, and now is a member of the Black Panthers.

On the day of the disruption at Wilson, Lawrence rode to the school on the back of a motorcycle, students there said, driven by Nick Greer, 22, a member of the Patriot Party, a white group allied with the Panthers.

They brought with them the black liberation flag, which was the centerpiece of the demonstrations.

Last year Greer, who comes from affluent Westchester County, N.Y., was head of the Students for a Democratic Society at George Washington University. He played a prominent part in the occupation of several university buildings.

This year Greer has often been at Wilson, helping organize a small chapter of the Revolutionary Youth Movement, an offshoot of SDS. Other students at the high school call Greer "the coach."

Blakey said that during the week of the boycotts many students who walked out of their own schools "sat in on some classes" at the Center for Black Education, 14th and Fairmont Streets NW.

The center is headed by James Garrett, 28, organizer of one of the first and most militant black student unions in the country at San Francisco State University.

Last year Garrett was acting director of the black studies program at Federal City College. He tried to turn black

Dianne, Roger, and Michael Speak Out

studies into a separate division of the college with its own classes in mathematics, karate, and "the African hunt," as well as in literature and history.

Left "the Plantation"

When his proposal was sidetracked by the college trustees, Garrett left what he called "the plantation." . . .

The Center has . . . supplied books, leaflets and ideas for the classes at Black Student Union meetings.

From the Panthers, Blakey said, the group obtained books by Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, as well as works by Kwame Nkrumah, the deposed president of Ghana. It also obtained the Panther newspaper.

"We got an understanding from the Panthers of what the class struggle is," Blakey said, "and an insight into the class problems in this world.

The Center for Black Education has provided leaflets on Africa, black nationalism, and the problems of other nonwhite "third world" people, Blakey said, "so we can understand racist attitudes."

Drugs Opposed

Blakey added that the classes also have included discussions on Martin Luther King, slave revolts and drug use, which the BSU strongly opposes. . . .

The after-school classes have been "very, very important," Blakey said. "They've helped make us aware of who we are and what we must do."

Their content, he said, provides an example of what should be added to the regular school curriculum, which now, he said, "brainwashes us in the racist, capitalist system."

"Just about everything in the school is putrid," Blakey said. "What we need is more community control—if not total community control—over funds, teacher evaluation, and putting police in the schools. Parents and students and people from the community with teacher advisers and administrative advisers should control each school. . . . The students would have more power to decide what's going to happen."

He added: "The most important issue is power, as it always is in everything, the power black students must have to make changes." . . .

"The thing the police can't stand is that we are coordinated, that we are unified. The system comes down very, very hard on black people who do that," Blakey said.

"America is a racist state," Blakey said, "perpetrated by

the capitalist system. The solution is to do whatever is necessary to do away with capitalism and begin socialism."

For Negroes, he said, "There must be a separate black state, on a separate territory . . . . I am a black nationalist. Integration is a farce."

A few years ago Blakey didn't feel that way at all. In junior high school, his main interest was archeology, and he won first prize in a city-wide science fair in the eighth grade. He also joined the Maryland Archeological Society. He was its youngest member and its only black.

"I got as much knowledge as I could get. I wanted to be the best," Blakey said. Now he has dropped science almost completely.

Political consciousness came slowly, he recalled, as part of "getting more mature." But the "one thing which had the greatest effect on my changing," he said, was the April, 1968, riot here.

Blakey walked along 14th Street NW with some friends a day after the worst fires and, he said, "We started to think why it was done.

"We couldn't just say these people were rioting and looting. We had to try to understand why they were doing it. . . . I was always very moody, and I still am, and I just sat in a daydream most of the spring, thinking. I just thought about everything and did not pay attention to class. . . . Then I began to realize what all the oppression means."

I wonder if Dr Wythers read his homework Assignment before he gave it.

PART III

Relationships Between Teachers and Students

Section 1: *Overview*

Now I've HEARD all this NONSENSE about the STUDENT as a NIGGER! About 'em having no rights and no protection and so-called student-teacher SEGREGATION and I just want to get a few blasted things STRAIGHT! I mean I guess I KNOW my STUDENTS!
Firstly, let me say some of my BEST friends are STUDENTS and BASICALLY you couldn't WISH to meet a more POLITE, RESPECTFUL, HAPPY lot when they know their place. Why some of 'em are even quite ATTRACTIVE... (chuckle) Yeah!
With their own kind they seem to ENJOY themselves IMMENSELY... dancing (got a lotta rhythm!)... wearing gaudy clothes! We TEACHERS say if you could be a STUDENT just ONE Saturday night you'd NEVER want to be a teacher AGAIN! (chuckle) And they're VERY good at SPORTS!
cartoon from US
But GOSH DARN it some folks talk about 'em like they were US! And FACE it, what contribution are they making to the ARTS? How many DOCTORS, LAWYERS and BUSINESS LEADERS are STUDENTS? Biologically they're just not EQUIPPED to handle FREEDOM and POWER! How I envy them!
So these OUTSIDERS who try to STIR 'EM UP over RIGHTS and such are just making TROUBLE for EVERYBODY! First thing they'll want to write on every line and use staff washrooms and call us by our FIRST NAMES! And brother, there's NOTHING worse than an UPPITY STUDENT!
And just between us would you want one to marry your daughter?
Arny Arbos, Mich.

*From *Our Time Is Now*, John Birmingham, editor. Used by permission of Praeger Publishers, Inc.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

LARRY CUBAN

Yes, the cartoon to the left is exaggerated. The point, nevertheless, is clear. There are teachers who see students as a minority. And to do so, inevitably means that the adult deals with stereotypes, not individual students. Powerful images about minority groups spill over onto individual kids and inescapably shrink the possibility of developing humane relationships. If the core of the school experience for youth and adults is not to shrivel up—as so many critics say it already has—then the single most vital element to effective schooling must be revitalized and nourished. That element is: honest, humane relationships between adults and young people. Yes, I'm afraid, another cliché. If personal relationships in school remain mechanical and impersonal, how, indeed, can people learn from one another?

Much of the criticism of public schools stresses the impersonality, coldness and uncaring climate that pervade most schools. Compassion and humaneness toward individuals (and not the abstract "children") are missing from schooling. As long as these elements are absent, minority status will continue and activism will ebb and flow, turning nastier each time the school fails to respond.

How easy it is to blame teachers for being impersonal and inhumane toward students! But the fact is that teachers, too, like students, are trapped by the system as it is

currently structured in secondary schools. The structure sucks out what vitality and humanity there are in people.

Think, first, what the size of the school does to relationships. If there are over 1500 students in a school, anonymity shoves many students into a faceless daily existence. Random contacts take precedence over sustaining ones simply because a large building prevents people from seeing one another often. It would take a new teacher at least three years to know most upperclassmen by name and sight. With teacher turnover being what it is, many teachers don't stay that long. The opportunity for and the nature of personal relationships are often governed by the size of the school. Obviously, it doesn't have to be that way.

Consider what bulletins, bells and regulations tell the teacher. First, they say that, at best, he is a technician, a mechanic, one who cannot be trusted with too much responsibility. The silent language of the school quickly and effectively eliminates all that garbage from university courses on professionalism given to prospective teachers. After all, how many professionals would tolerate the second-person, imperative language of most bulletins? Bells at odd minutes may suggest factory efficiency but at the cost of telling teachers with every gong, clang and buzz that they are incapable of deciding when to begin or end the class. The message is: be rational, efficient, impersonal. Be a bureaucrat.

Second, the silent language of rules, bulletins and bells communicates clearly and loudly that teachers are dumb children. Teachers cannot read bulletins carefully; that is why there is a public address system to repeat what was written in the bulletin. Teachers cannot follow directions, which is why faculty meetings are held to impress upon them the importance of certain tasks. Teachers are not permitted to collect or spend money without permission of the principal. Childlike dependency often results from such excessive strictures.

Lastly, consider how the teacher load and daily schedule isolate teachers and students from one another, preventing the growth of personal relationships. At the secondary school level, teachers have five or more classes with about 150 students, two or three preparations, an additional extracurricular assignment and clerical trivia. Such teacher loads and scheduling, aside from sapping energy, conspire to separate teachers from one another, locking them into their rooms (or driving them into the lounges out of desperation) and squelching contacts with young people outside of the classroom. Moreover, after five classes, especially on those days that went so-so, students coming in to rap

are the last people a tired teacher needs or wants. Fatigue and a lack of opportunity to deal with students on a one-to-one basis prevent the natural authority that experienced, knowledgeable adults have, and that most young people want, from being tapped. It is quite easy for a teacher to come to school at 8:15 A.M. and leave at 3:30 P.M. five days a week and not have one chance to listen meaningfully and undefensively to a student without glancing at the clock and hustling the student out. Perhaps this is exaggerated. If it is, then pique at structural constraints of the school prompts such overstatement.

All of this is to say that teachers, like students, are trapped into behaving like a beleaguered minority by the way the school is set up. If humane relationships are to develop, teachers and students must become aware of how both are squeezed into a low-status minority. Once they were aware, determined efforts by teachers could be taken to overcome the inertia of business-as-usual. A great deal, then, must be asked of teachers. Not only must they see how their minority status and that of their students keep them at arm's length, but I further suggest that teachers do something about it. My suggestions fall into three sections: What to do to crack the image that many teachers have about students as a group? How should teachers relate to student activism both inside and outside the school? And, finally, what can teachers do?

Cracking the Image

This business about teachers perceiving youth as a minority and being unaware of how the structure of the school reinforces that perception is tricky to uncover. Just as no one readily admits to being a racist or sexist, few admit to regarding youth as a low-status minority; one has to look for clues. In referring to students, does a teacher say "you people" or "students are . . ." or does he constantly use "they" and "them"? Does the school rigidly segregate teacher and student lounges and eating areas? Do toilets have "Boys" and "Girls" or "Men" and "Women"? Can students use teacher washrooms? In my school, there are no doors on toilet stalls; there are, naturally, doors on the stalls in the teachers' room. In one school I taught in, teachers kicked up a fuss every time a student walked into the lounge and used the pop machine. "The audacity," one colleague said, "that boy has in coming in here." I asked what was wrong in his using the machine since he had money. "If one comes in, they'll all be coming in," she replied.

I guess the test of whether a teacher perceives students as individuals or as an undifferentiated minority is what stu-

dents do. For example, do students want to talk privately or in small groups to the teacher about all kinds of subjects, including the content of the class? Does a sharing, a reciprocity of feeling grow between teacher and student? Do students act as if the teacher is an accepting person?

I'm not speaking of students who buzz over young, attractive teachers and just want to be around them. Nor am I speaking of students who hustle teachers for grades under the guise of friendship. I speak of students who discover that there are teachers who accept students as individuals on their terms, each one having particular strengths and flaws. Any teacher—old or young, male or female, white or black—who sees young people as individuals and tries to overcome the powerful influence of the school both in structure and action is persistently sought out by many students.

All of the foregoing sounds suspiciously like a popularity contest. No doubt, someone would raise the point that "we're here to teach kids and get them to learn, not to be father-confessors or older brothers and sisters." Divorcing the act of teaching from learning, sadly, ignores the whole human dimension to learning. Neither teaching nor learning is a mechanical operation yet so many schoolmen would like to believe that. Those that would, seldom feel comfortable in talking and listening to a student outside of the school.

There are teachers, of course, who are very much aware of how schools define them and their students as a minority. They resist in many ways. Let me suggest a few of their strategies.

These teachers try to find out as much as they can about their students. What do they read, watch on television, and listen to on the radio? What are the popular songs? Which sport stars are the rage? These teachers also read as much as they can about young people, adolescent psychology, youth sub-cultures, etc. The purpose of getting all of this knowledge is not to appear hip to students, or to use the current patois so that students will think that the teacher is with it. If that is the case, the teacher will be a loser both in his and the students' eyes. The purpose is to have a base of information to make decisions about what to teach, what examples to use in classroom discussions, what topics to suggest for independent study, and to make conceptual connections that bridge the student's world with what is happening elsewhere. Also of importance is the nonverbal message to students that what they experience and know has validity for what occurs in the classroom. But knowledge isn't enough.

These teachers frequently have a great deal of contact with their students, thereby translating what they know into practice. Closeness is a key to acceptance. There are many teachers who sponsor clubs after school just because they want informal contact; more athletically-inclined teachers play halfcourt basketball; others simply stay later after school to prepare for the next day and students drop in. Some teachers eat lunch in their rooms with a steady group of student brown-baggers. A small number of teachers go into the homes of their students, invited of course.

The purpose for this contact is twofold. Clearly, such encounters, if they are consistent and sustained, destroy cardboard stereotypes of *youth*. Equally important and essential for the growth of personal relationships is that students see that teachers are human. If it is psychologically important for many teachers to keep students at a distance and to perceive them as a lowly minority, the same is true for many students. It can be profoundly disturbing to some young people to experience teachers in human terms—to discover that they laugh, cry, have fears, share similar interests, and blow their noses. Student stereotypes of *teachers* also crack apart after prolonged contact. Without this closeness developing between adults and young people, each other's humanity remains carefully hidden by the fronts that each of us defiantly project. And stereotypes march on undeterred by individual differences.

Admittedly, to ask teachers who are already overburdened, underpaid and blamed for every social ill of the community to learn more about young people and then have more contact with them in order to humanize learning is to ask a great deal. If the key to education is the relationship between teacher and learner—as I believe it to be—then what other choice is there but to ask?

Ask Boards of Education and they will refer it to a committee for study; ask the Superintendent and he will direct a subordinate to study it for two weeks and report back; ask the principal and he will respond by saying it is a good idea but I will have to check with downtown. If not the teacher, who else?

The Teacher and the Activist

TWO QUESTIONS: *First,* how do teachers respond to student activists? *Second,* how should they respond?*

A teacher's response is dictated by what the teacher sees his or her function to be, which, obviously, is shaped by

* Just a reminder. When I use the word "should" I deal not in facts but in values. I state beliefs, not verifiable statements.

what the teacher sees as the purpose of schooling. Again, these are value choices, not factual assertions. Should a teacher, for example, see his prime job as getting students to learn a body of knowledge and skills that the community feels is important (English, history, math, science, etc.)? Should a teacher see his main task as getting students to be questioning and analytical in all matters, using content as a vehicle? Or should a teacher see his prime job as advocating socially desirable goals even to the point of organizing a rent strike, participating in a boycott, or leading a march on city hall—in short, to be a political advocate? These are tough choices to make.

Now imagine all teachers strung out on a continuum. Clustering at each end and in the middle are groups of teachers who believe in each of the above positions. There will also be teachers who are at various points between the groups. The discussion that follows is not meant to describe individual teachers but types.

On the far right of our continuum is a group of teachers for whom teaching is less of a choice and more of just doing what is expected. The school is structured to socialize and sort out young people. Thus, those teachers, having gone through a similar schooling and having been socialized, internalized the value that a school should disseminate a certain body of information and have students learn certain basic skills. Seldom do these teachers express themselves politically outside the class. For such teachers, student activism is an outrage. Lost school time, protests in the building add up to alien activities. Regardless of the object for dissent, school is no place for protest; it is a place to work.

At the opposite end of the continuum is a small band of teacher-advocates. Here are teachers who wish to change the world (in no way is this meant pejoratively) and they want to begin by teaching young people. Active in radical or reform groups outside of school, they infrequently draw a distinction between their roles as citizen and teacher. Their rationale for a lack of distinction is that most institutions in society support society and therefore the school is political in its ideology, values, and socialization of the young. The act of teaching, then, is political; the curriculum is political; separate teacher and student washrooms, desks arranged in rows, hall passes—everything in the school has a political meaning. Such advocates, more often than not, plaster their classrooms with Che Guevara, Malcolm X and psychedelic posters, advise official or unofficial activist organizations in the building and participate in outside demonstrations, frequently inviting their students along. Unsurprisingly, content from the curriculum is downplayed while social is-

sues, political awareness, interaction and feelings are stressed. A recent Congressional investigating committee interviewed a black student whose English teacher had been identified as a "radical."

Q. What has she been teaching in her class?
A. She has taught about slavery and what the white man is still doing to the black man even today.

Q. Were you a student of her class?
A. Yes, I was, 1967 through 1969.

Q. What else did she teach you while you were one of her students?
A. She indicated that through violence, we would be heard.

Q. What else did she teach you?
A. She handed out leaflets to all of her male students which explained how to avoid the draft and the white man's war.

Q. Did all of her teaching take place in her classroom?
A. In the case of some students, she invited them to come to group discussions which were held away from school someplace—where I do not know. . . .

Q. What was your reaction to this type of teaching?
A. I did not particularly like it. I feel that nothing but black history being taught to you causes many bad memories to return. I felt I needed to know not only about black people, but about all people and grammer *(sic)* too.

Q. Did (she) teach you a lot of grammer *(sic)* while you were in her class?
A. (She) taught little grammer (*sic*), only black history and particularly about slavery. . . .

Q. How do you feel this type of teaching affects other students?
A. It makes them become more militant, and it breeds dissatisfaction towards and against the school system. . . .

Q. Is there anything further you wish to add about [her] and activities which occurred in her classroom?
A. Yes, frequently she would put phone numbers on the blackboard for members of the class to call in event they were interested in the latest marches and protests going on in this area.[1]

In the eyes of one disgruntled, "excluded" black student, a white "solidly-in" activist teacher wasn't doing her job. Many of her other students, however, felt she was one of their best teachers. To the witch-hunting investigating

committee, here was another example of a teacher-advocate more interested in political change than parsing sentences. I suspect that the teacher, if given the chance, would have said that to fight for political and social change is the best form of education. Many teacher-activists believe that advocacy is far better than the schooling that passes for education.

Smack in the center of our continuum is the group of teachers who believe that the main job of the teacher and school "should be to study every possible question but to fight for only one course: freedom of inquiry and freedom of thought. . . ." [2]

Teachers who take this position believe that parents must have confidence that teachers will not politicize their children for certain ends no matter how socially desirable these ends appear at the moment. The classroom, these teachers feel, is where inquiry and skepticism belong. Advocacy generates a thrust toward dogmatism and indoctrination. Parental and even student confidence will erode when teachers behave as doctrinaire militants rather than open-minded inquirers.

Only the most naive teacher who inhabits the center of the continuum would believe that the open-minded inquirer is valueless, i.e. "objective." The basic political values of the Democratic Creed are constantly imprinted upon students beginning in kindergarten; our middle group consciously and unconsciously does its share of imprinting at the secondary school level. The point is that the commitment is to questioning, inquiry. The only advocacy is of that commitment—to the point of questioning the basic political, social and economic values of the nation; to clarify and question, there should be no closed areas.

It is this centrist group that walks the razor's edge of choice when they wrestle with the issues of support or non-support of student activists. Those teachers on the right seldom express themselves politically or question values; they reject student dissent out of hand. Those on the left, mostly young and uncaring about what should or should not go on in the classroom, embrace uncritically any dissent. Those in the center agonize over their relationship to activists, sometimes to the point of paralysis. Should a teacher speak out in class, in the student press and in faculty meetings about unfair dress codes, locked-up bathrooms (a common occurrence in ghetto schools) or other school rules that he or she feels are abusive of student rights and humanity? Should a white teacher, believing deeply in the Democratic Creed, urge his students to join a demonstration that he will be marching in to protest the slowness of desegrega-

tion in the city's schools? Does a commitment to inquiry mean a mindless avoidance of controversial issues? Where is the line drawn? Tough questions.

What makes these questions even tougher is that the decision is not always a clear value choice. Risks are involved. The young teacher-advocate seldom sticks around more than a year or two. Principals and central office administrators turn in unsatisfactory evaluations, parents complain—and since most of these teachers lack tenure, they are let go. The middle group, generally older, run similar risks. Principal denunciation or censure from the central office could lead to reassignment if the teacher is tenured. Lacking tenure, again, the teacher would receive comments of "unprofessional behavior" on evaluations and eventually see the pink slip in the mail box.

Consider the following instances.

In Oregon, a teacher who uses a wheelchair and who was named the state's Handicapped Woman of the Year in 1970 was dismissed from a position she held for five years. Mrs. Mary Gray charged that she was fired because she gave one of her special education students advice on securing an abortion.

In Texas, Timothy Campbell was fired two weeks after he signed a contract in Mathis, San Patricio County, in 1969. He was dismissed because of insubordination and unprofessionalism. According to the case which is under appeal: Campbell explained to his students, after the principal announced over the public address system that students and teachers should have "good" grooming, that such an announcement by the principal might be taking away the rights of students. Furthermore, in the faculty lounge he questioned a colleague's right to take away a medallion from a student because the teacher thought it didn't belong in a school. Campbell also spoke to other teachers about the inequity of having a 10¢ coke machine in the teachers' lounge while the students, mostly poor, had to use a 15¢ machine. He felt the machines should be switched around. Later when the principal called Campbell into his office, the teacher felt it was discriminatory to forbid Mexican-American children from using the pay phone unless they spoke English. The next day, the Board of Education met and fired Campbell.

And in Arkansas a few years ago a veteran teacher of twenty-six years' experience got her second-grade students interested in nutrition. They discovered that cooked carrots weren't as healthy as fresh carrots. So they wrote to the cafeteria supervisor asking to have raw rather than cooked carrots. Moreover, the children and the teacher

complained about the fumes from the school incinerator which blew into their room. The Board fired her for teaching young children to protest. Last year, the federal district court ordered her reinstated with full back pay.[3]

From New York state, a superintendent's newsletter item informs teachers which way the wind must blow.

> If you work for a man, in Heaven's name, WORK for him. If he pays you wages which supply you bread and butter, work for him; stand by him and stand by the institution he represents. If put to a pinch, an ounce of loyalty is worth a pound of cleverness. If you must vilify, condemn, and eternally disparage—resign your position, and when you are outside, damn to your heart's content; but as long as you are part of the institution, do not condemn it. If you do that you are loosening the tendrils that are holding you to the institution, and at the first big wind that comes along, you will be uprooted and blown away, and probably will never know the reason why.[4]

All of these instances, and there are hundreds more, indicate that some teachers advocate student rights, as well as their own. But the chilling effect of threatened dismissal is sufficient to get more than one teacher to think twice about activism.

What Can Teachers Do?

What, then, should be the role of the teacher who values inquiry and student rights yet is aware of the risks involved?

I feel strongly that teachers should express themselves publicly when student rights are abused. Teachers should march and demonstrate outside of the school. I feel the criterion to determine involvement is simply whether the issue is intrinsic to inquiry, integral to the act of teaching and learning. If the answer is yes, then the teacher should dissent in his role as teacher and assume the risks of sanctions; if the answer is no, then the teacher should separate his role of teacher from that of citizen and protest in the latter role.

This is my value choice; this is what I would do and have done. Do not interpret this as criticism of those teachers who disagree or don't act. You see the risks are high; sanctions come quickly and hard. For me or anyone to advocate teachers getting fired in behalf of their students or walking out in protest is, I believe, arrogant and irresponsible. Each person does what he or she feels should be done.

Does all of this sound like a verbal sleight of hand and word twisting? I hope not. Teachers must judge whether their efforts to make changes will or will not compromise

their effectiveness in the classroom. It is difficult to make simple decisions since many fuzzy areas of teacher and student activism remain.

How many teachers risk themselves? Very few. A national study of the political life of teachers concluded:

> Teachers who espouse orthodox ideologies feel themselves to be relatively free of sanctions, but the teachers who feel free of sanctions are not therefore more likely to use the classroom as a forum for the expression of their ideas. Rather, the reverse is true. Those teachers who are most expressive in the classroom are more threatened by the educational establishment. The overall impact of perceived sanctions seems to produce docility and conformity in teachers.[5]

Increasing teacher militancy over bread-and-butter issues has changed that picture somewhat. In big city systems, teachers have walked picket lines, defied their Boards of Education, and closed down schools when teacher rights have been at stake. The Biafra of bitterness unleashed by the 1968 community control fight in New York City was simply another example of how teachers split among themselves over which principle to actively fight for: due process for teachers or community control. Militancy in behalf of student rights and educational reform has been infrequent.

Over the years, individual teachers have risked themselves by supporting students on particular issues. Those without tenure have been fired; those few with tenure have been either reassigned to snowless educational Siberias or isolated from the rest of the faculty.

Few teachers align themselves with student activism even when the issues are drawn starkly, say, as in the arbitrary mass suspensions without cause. Most teachers who are concerned about student activists who resist the minority status imposed upon them and the whole issue of students as a minority seek out both traditional and innovative means of doing their job short of active coalition with student dissenters.

REFERENCES

[1] *Investigation and Study of the Public School System of the District of Columbia, 1970* (Report of the Committee on the District of Columbia, House of Representatives, GPO, 1970), pp. 410-411.

[2] Dr. Scott Thompson, former principal of Cubberly High School, Palo Alto, California, after he resigned.

[3] Above three cases come from an interview with Bettye Sinowitz, DuShane Fund, National Education Association, February 24, 1972.

[4] Cited in *The Teacher Paper*, February, 1972, p. 24.

[5] Harmon Zeigler, *The Political Life of American Teachers* (Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 142.

Section 2: *Viewpoints on "Relationships Between Teachers and Students"*

This is the third year we never got beyond 1917...

KRIS, LUCY, AND JAMES SPEAK OUT*

Three students discuss the strengths and weaknesses of their teachers. Some common threads emerge.

KRIS

Kris is a white student in her senior year in a small city school on the west coast. The school is predominantly white with a minority enrollment of approximately 15 percent. Kris is taking academic courses and plans to go to college.

The most important thing of all is that a teacher respect the students and their ideas. All the way through school I got the same kind of thing. I'm sitting in that chair, part of the class, and I'd better find out that the teacher is sitting higher than I am, and that I am supposed to follow—ultimately follow—his rules.

The teacher may have some feelings on how he's more liberal than most of those in authority and that he respects his kids, but there's always a place where the line is drawn, and this is as far as you can go. If you try to approach him in a human relationship, he gets too uncomfortable. He can always send you someplace else, complain to your parents,

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lower your grade, or send you to the dean. You have to call him Mister; he doesn't call you Miss. He is always one step above you.

If my English teacher says that this is the interpretation of a poem and she gives us this point to do as a test, I miss the boat if I've analyzed the poem differently. She'll say, "That's wrong. Well, you have some interesting ideas here, but I think you've missed the entire point." It never enters her mind that it's possible that we could both be right. Sometimes, it gets to the point where they'll tell me that it's possible for the two of us to be right, but, "I'm grading you, dear." They actually openly admit this kind of hypocrisy, but it still exists and there's no way of bucking it.

I'm not satisfied to sit in my English class and learn a very sterile rigid program of authors and plays. Students have a universal interest in what is going to connect in their lives because of this age. It's like we were doing memorization during our American literature class last year, and a girl had memorized Bob Dylan's poetry because she really liked it a lot. The teacher said, "Fine. Okay, I'll give you credit for your 60 lines"; but then proceeded to portray Bob Dylan as being a phoney and a sellout. Immediately, the girl was turned off to that teacher, that class, and to the whole business of American literature. . . .

I know of one counselor who ignored the textbook and spent almost all the time talking about outside things, and they weren't always directly connected with history, though he did tie the things in with the curriculum. The kids were really excited with that teacher and with that class. This was about the only class that they felt really excited about; the rest of it was wading through, getting the required things done. Every single history class I have ever had, the teacher starts at the beginning of the textbook and works his way through it, and lots of times, we never make it through the books, never get to the 20th century. . . .

LUCY

Lucy is a black student who attends a school in a large city in the Northeast. Her school is predominantly white. She is a senior and plans to attend college.

Teachers don't give you a bad mark because you're black. But that's funny, too, because the education is white middle-class type education and most of the black

students who go there from black junior high schools are not prepared to do the kind of work that the teachers ask them to do. They fail to achieve—not directly because they're black, and not directly because the teachers are prejudiced against them, but because of inferior education in most black elementary schools and junior highs.

I had one very good English course in the black junior high school I went to. The teacher was very interested in things that meant something to us. And she would ask us to express ourselves in writing about things that really meant something to us, whereas, at the white high school we're asked to be able to write nice words on a nice piece of paper. The teachers are set on getting you through these college boards and into college and that's about it. It doesn't seem that they're that much interested in their course, but they want you to be able to do your reading comprehension on your college boards and do it well.

My French teacher is my best teacher. She teaches very well and she knows how to manage a class. I'm in a class that isn't particularly interested in French and a lot of them are younger students. I'm one of the few seniors in class—and she really has to be a talented person to keep the class going. She talks to us a lot, rather than just teaching us grammar. She wants us to speak the language and talk back to her. It's not a dull class because she keeps us busy. She's very good at teaching her material and getting it across in class, so that even the little homework she does give is very easy because you know your French.

My English teacher is black. I'd rather not talk about her. She's very nonchalant and really not very interested in teaching. I think she's there to draw the salary like so many teachers. Once in a while she communicates with the kids, but the class is more like a study hall. We're asked to read some books and once in a while we have a discussion, but very little if anything goes on in the class. . . .

If I were teaching a group, I'd want to know what they want to learn as individuals. I would find out what they already know, and then I would try to start with that and branch out into other areas. Because usually, as people learn what they want to know, they find out something else. Make it interesting. Compare something happening back then with something that's happening today. Make some kind of connection with people's everyday life. This keeps people from getting sleepy. Kids make noise because they think what they have to say is more important than what the teacher has to say. And they just don't feel like listening to her because she's boring or they're failing in the class and they're mad, and they just don't pay any attention.

A teacher should be able to stimulate interest in his students. It's fine to say that people should come to class interested. They'll get more out of it if they come interested, but if you have a system where you have to take certain courses, a lot of people are going to come to those courses without any interest and a teacher who teaches a course such as English should be able to stimulate those students who aren't interested. It's hard. It's one of the most difficult jobs in the world.

JAMES

James is a white student in his junior year at a racially mixed school in a large city in the Northeast. Having received several offers of athletic scholarships, he plans to attend college to further his education.

I have a thing where I feel teachers out as soon as I come in there the first day. If they can't take a joke, what is he? Does he have feelings down inside? I mean, does he just come to school in the mornings and punch in and just come down to the class and teach a bunch of kids all day and then walk out. I like to see if they have feelings deep down inside.

This year I have an electronics teacher who is really a good teacher. He told everybody the first day that he wanted total cooperation. I have him three periods a day. Our first period is supposed to be theory, but before he starts talking about theory he gives us a little message. He tells us what he did when he was in the war and all that. He talks on our level, and tells us about how he was educated and his likes and dislikes. People respect him for it. But if I get one of these teachers that walk in and say, "There is the book, this page, do it. That's nice, I'll check it again at the end of the period," he is not putting the lesson across to you.

My history teacher puts the lesson across to me. He puts it down in kids' terms. He knew what the kids' problems were and that's why I think he is the 12th grade class sponsor this year. I went to meetings with him and we participated in a lot of activities together. I think he is a hell of a guy. Even when I'm not in his class and I see him in the halls he comes up to me and talks to me. I tell him what I think. He respects my opinion and I respect his. I think he is a pretty intelligent man.

I don't put down the Negro teachers, because a teacher is a teacher. I don't care what color he is. Some teachers put

the lessons down a different way. I had this teacher one year, a Negro teacher, who put down a white guy. I could see that she had this hate against white people. I couldn't even say one nice thing about her—that's just how mean she was. I don't like a teacher who is going to put you down for everything you are going to do. She didn't have a kind word for nobody. I really do think she hated white people. She did treat the colored boys in the class a lot better. I have met a lot of prejudiced teachers; it is nothing new to me.

I think that all the teachers should be required before they come in the school to take a psychology course that would clue them in on what is really happening. They should have textbooks made up with facts on what to do in certain situations, like when a fight breaks out in a class she might faint or something. But I think they should be required to take this kind of course before they are allowed to teach in the system.

A perfect teacher is a guy that puts the lesson across to me and I get something out of the lesson, something that I can take with me until the day I die; one that wouldn't be prejudiced at all, you know, just put the facts down; not giving too much time to one student than he would to another student. I like a good discipline teacher, a real good mean teacher. I have had teachers that when you walk in a room you'd say you can't stand her, but I would like her because she kept her class intact. Nobody would step on her. As soon as they start stepping on you, you lose your respect. I like a good teacher who is going to really lay down the law. I am going to school to be taught, and I figure if I've got to be here eight hours or whatever is required, I'm going to get something out of it. If you are disciplined right, you are going to learn and get the full value of the process of learning.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN TWO TEACHERS:

A LEARNING EXPERIENCE FOR STUDENTS AND TEACHERS*

LARRY CUBAN

Two teachers struggling with the question of why history should be taught involve a class in an all-black, working-class high school in the larger question of what school is for. In doing so, two individuals on different parts of the continuum tentatively reach out to one another in an effort to bridge differences.

At the beginning of the school year when the teacher announced that no texts were to be used on a daily basis—although texts were distributed—there was a shrill outcry from many in the class for "history teaching like the other classes." "We want," they said, "to use books; you learn better." Resistance to early lessons on distinguishing between fact and inference, objective and subjective evidence, and the like was vocal and strong. "This isn't history," the more aggressive in the class kept repeating. While my friend eventually got into topics that were roughly familiar to students, such as the American Revolution in comparison to family rebellions and high school boycotts, there was still grumbling about using the textbook and getting the "true facts" of history. By December, he tells me, the class resistance to a content that shifted back and forth in time had melted away (or submerged). By May the teacher and the class, according to him, had developed

*From *The Teacher Paper*, Portland, Oregon. Copyright © 1971. Used by permission.

rapport; they had learned to live reasonably well with one another. With only three weeks of school left before summer vacation, the incident occurred.

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In a unit on the Cities in America, one student in a group—the class had divided itself into four groups for study of cities—decided to create an opinion poll to gather information about the particular problem his group had decided to explore. The student drew up the form, his group discussed it and agreed to it, and then he ran off 150 copies to distribute to all teachers in the building as well as numerous students. Here is the form:

SURVEY OF OPINION

Please check the choices you feel are best. Return this form to Mr. Jones'* box in the Business Office by May 10. Thank you.
The Five Trouble Shooters**
United States History, 5th Period

Which are the best ways of preventing venereal disease:

__no intercourse at all
__withdrawal
__female should douche
__wash your hands carefully
__condom
__diaphragm
_____other?

Many teachers completed the form and returned it to the teacher's box. A few pencilled notations. One teacher in the same department, however, was very upset and wrote the following memo to my friend:

To: Mr. Jones
From: Mrs. E. F. Smith
Subject: Survey Opinion Form—5th Period

What justification is there for a survey of this kind under the banner of American History? These matters should, it seems to me, come within the province of the courses dealing with Health and Science.

Moreover, the performance of our students in the social studies, American History, et al. has consistently fallen below acceptable standards. Could it be that each of us working in the field should make every moment of class time count in a concerted effort to bridge this no-information gap in American History?

E. F. Smith

* My colleague's pseudonym. All names have been changed.
** Each group in the class, according to my friend, had distinctive names.

My colleague answered that day.

Dear Mrs. Smith:

Our class is studying urban problems. They are divided into four groups. The topics *they* chose to research were "Education," "Rats," "Housing" and "Venereal Disease." Each group has to make an oral presentation as well as write a research paper with at least five sources of information.

The group dealing with "venereal disease" researched books, magazines, and films. They also decided to seek out knowledge from people—therefore the form you received was part of that effort.

Since I believe that historical information is only a vehicle to learn skills and not an end in itself, I feel that the skills students learn from researching, organizing, and presenting an issue they are interested in is far more important than covering information in a textbook.

Thank you for your interest. Please feel free to visit the class, speak with students or observe what is going on.

Sincerely,
Harold Jones

Before he sent it to the teacher, he felt also that the class should see the memo. He read it to the class without naming the teacher. The class immediately reacted—negatively. They exploded, he tells me, in anger that another teacher criticized the class. My friend said he was inwardly pleased that most (but not all) students wanted to defend him but he felt that there was a larger issue than personal criticism. By this time a number of very vocal students, his leaders in class discussion, wanted to do something. At this point he went to the back of the room, sat down and kept his mouth shut. Three students led a discussion of the memo and the class voted to reply to the teacher. Their reply, signed by 17 of the 19 in class, follows:

Dear _____:

We the students of Mr. Jones' class feel that we are obligated to write a response to your letter. We feel that your charges are not concrete, by this we mean that you do not have substantial evidence to say that we have fallen below acceptable standards. Your criticism is in the poorest taste, for we are learning. And before you criticize a teacher that is trying and has the interest of his class, check yourself. Feel free to visit any time!

Fifth Period

Their letter was delivered that day. The next day, the teacher approached my friend and asked if she could meet with the class. She wished to read her reply to their letter. A

time was arranged, she appeared. The students' reaction was anger, surprise, and great interest. She read the following letter to the class.

To: Fifth Period Class and Mr. Jones
From: Mrs. E. F. Smith
Subject: Reply

In response to your letter dated May 10, I feel obligated to make the following comments.

1. I made no charge against anyone. My statement of fact concerning "our students" referred to students of Eisenhower High School. Whether any of you as individuals were included in the numbers who have taken the various tests, I could not know because I did not know nor did I seek your names as individuals. The matter of fact which I cited was based upon information which has come to me through the 10th, 11th, and 12th grade counselors. . . . In fact, in one meeting this year the social studies teachers were admonished by one counselor to the extent that she wondered if we were teaching U.S. History at any time or place in the curriculum. According to her record as stated by her the average score on the College Board Tests in U.S. History ranged in the mid-200's and the highest in the range of 350. The highest possible score is 800. A score from 550 to 750 is considered good to excellent. As late as last week, I learned that only one student at Eisenhower scored up to the cut-off point in the National Merit exams. . . . These facts are on file in the counselor's offices.

2. I did not criticize Mr. Jones. I am also a member of the "I Love Harold" club. I did raise what I considered a justifiable question. If to question is to criticize and to criticize is to oppose then I plead guilty as charged. However, if this be so, the entire course of education and the concept of a free society are already lost. . . .

3. Your suggestion that I check myself first before criticizing anyone suffers from the same shortcoming of which you so glibly charged me. What evidence do you have to indicate that I have or have not "checked" myself? You fail to cite any.

4. As to "taste" this is a matter of personal opinion. You surely are entitled to your opinion and I am entitled to mine.

Having carried this highly professional exchange to the illogical conclusion, I suggest that we continue to devote class time to basic learnings to help bridge the now developing non-information canyon. I am doing this at home—til 8 p.m. However, I do find it odd that a group of young people seem to resent having a question raised concerning a fundamental issue, when in this place and time in history the young are questioning all the time. A practice which I both

welcome and encourage. Perhaps a real thorough examination of the basic rights of *all* people would reveal the truth of the old saying, "What's good for the goose is good for the gander."

Mrs. E. F. Smith, Chief Gander

After she read the letter, she asked if there were any questions. A few students again questioned her right to criticize another teacher. Another asked why she was making such a big deal out of facts from textbooks. Her answer, which I heard since I had been invited by my friend to listen, went like this:

> You have to learn these facts so you can do well on tests. If you do well on tests, you are going to get jobs, good jobs. All of us (Mrs. Smith is black) have to play Catch Up. We have been behind so long, we got to learn all the skills and knowledge we can. By not getting facts and skills, your chances to do well on tests and get into college will be less. We got to Catch Up.

Mrs. Smith was passionate in her words. Her voice rose in volume; she occasionally trembled. The high pitch of emotion broke after she spoke. Silence. Mr. Jones tried to pick up the discussion by encouraging those who usually speak to say something. Nothing. Mrs. Smith left the class.

As soon as she left, the class exploded into discussion. Their emotional level zoomed; there was much yelling and anger at her but mixed with respect for what she said as well as how she said it. A few students raised points that could have been used earlier. The bell rang.

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Mr. Jones later told me that the closing-of-school atmosphere quickly dampened the class's initial enthusiasm and it was forgotten within the week in preparation for final examinations.

FONDLING THE REAL WORLD*

STEVE BHAERMAN

A teacher-advocate traces his journey into and out of a big-city school system. Steve Bhaerman now teaches in the New Community School in Coburn, Pennsylvania.

I began teaching three years ago as part of the Urban Teacher Corps in Washington, a project designed to introduce innovative teaching methods into public schools. Along with eight other "interns," I was assigned to a predominantly black high school with a "good" academic rating. I taught only two classes and was expected to spend my free time in seminars and developing a "relevant" social-studies curriculum.

The project allotted us $150 each to buy paperbacks to use in place of textbooks. We also were encouraged to use videotape machines, overhead projectors, and tape recorders to make our classes more exciting. We had a great deal of leeway as to what materials we used in class—no administrator ever asked me for a lesson plan. I expected my classroom to be an oasis of innovation and excitement.

Unfortunately, we did not operate in a vacuum. My students had other classes to attend, homework to do, courses

*From *American Teacher*, December 1971 and *No Particular Place to Go: The Making of a Free High School* by Steve Bhaerman and Joel Denker, (Simon and Schuster, 1972). Used by permission from *American Teacher*.

to pass, diplomas to earn. They also had to overcome 10 years of indoctrination. I was dismayed by how well the kids had incorporated the values of public school, how easily they accepted the blinders which the school had manufactured. One history class insisted on using textbooks and having a quiz every Friday. I decided to use the text in this class, but to approach it critically to help kids develop analytic skills.

In a section on the development of the American colonies, the textbook claimed that Georgia was founded "out of man's love for his fellow man." I prodded students to analyze that statement. "How much of what we do is out of love for our fellow man? Do Safeway stores operate on this basis?"

Gradually, kids began expressing their real feelings. They knew from their own experience that "love for fellow man" often masks other motives of self-interest. "Maybe the debtors were removed because it cost too much to keep them in prison," one kid suggested. Another thought that when debtors became landowners, they would be able to pay their debts. I was pleased that they were analyzing the text, an authority they usually took for granted.

But when I asked the question on the Friday quiz, at least one student repeated the textbook answer. "It's right here in the book," she told me.

"Eunice," I answered, "you were here for the classroom discussion. The whole class decided to ignore the textbook statement. You could have used common sense."

She felt cheated, not because she had gotten the wrong answer, but because two authorities, myself and the text, were in conflict. Eunice didn't care about the content of the lesson, only about getting a good mark. She was confused because other teachers would have rewarded her for giving the textbook answer. I later saw this pattern repeated by students who handed in reams of stuff copied from the encyclopedia. Did other teachers accept that? Or did they just not bother to read it? Clearly, the school rewarded the most obedient rather than the most creative students.

I tried to make assignments voluntary, but realized this was unworkable in a competitive system where all other assignments were mandatory. Five hours a week in my class could not change kids substantially, especially when their other teachers reinforced the old values. A student who had learned to value a mark would do his required work first and have little time left for other reading. Kids expected me to play the role of teacher—to entertain them and tell them what to do. When I gave kids an assignment to "write about anything you want to," they just couldn't do it.

"That's what happens when you let kids have freedom," an older teacher remarked.

"No," I said, "that's what happens when you don't give them any freedom until they are 16 and then expect them to act like adults."

Kids can only develop responsibility by having it. Public schools, however, have no intention of allowing youngsters real autonomy, because self-direction would interfere with school's primary goal—to create consumer-technicians who cherish comfort and security, who are willing to leave the important decisions to "experts." There is a striking parallel between public-school life and the roles which many will be forced to play after they graduate. In school, youngsters learn to work at dull, seemingly useless courses for a diploma. The diploma will give them the opportunity to work at meaningless jobs for the money to buy things which other people convince them they need. Curriculum reform will change nothing because subject matter is incidental. The public-school medium is the most important message.

Most of my students that first year accepted the matchbook-cover incantation: "If you don't have a high-school diploma, we can't use you." Many suburban kids, however, are deciding that they don't want to be "used." They don't want to spend four years in college just to become technicians-consumers. Increasingly, they are agitating within their schools, starting "free schools," or just dropping out. . . .

Young people need to develop a real community, competence without competition, a sense of their own value and power. This is best accomplished in small, decentralized schools rather than in educational conglomerates. A decentralized system would hamper uniform quantitative evaluation of students, and that's why I propose it. We have to break the trend of educational engineering, even the most well-intentioned kind. It's admirable to give black kids the skills to move up economically, but not if they are turned into servants of a more sophisticated sort.

To paraphrase Edgar Friedenberg, kids need to know "how they are valuable rather than how valuable they are." An adolescent emerging from an externally structured school situation needs time and space to learn about himself and where he wants to go. He needs first to become irresponsible, to be free of all the false responsibilities the school has drummed into him, free of the career map his parents have plotted for him. Above all, he needs to begin to make real choices about his life. Last year, I attended a meeting of well-meaning adults who were planning a school for adolescents. Someone suggested a class in "decision

making." I wonder what courses they would propose for a newborn infant.

Young people need a place where they can find their real cultural identity, where they can dig their own roots. Suburban parents have tried to bury their roots, to become "like everyone else," cast in the crucible of Hollywood and Madison Avenue. Kids have the task of developing a culture to fill the void. They must communicate through their own creations rather than through a manufactured style. The so-called youth culture has come to mean bell-bottoms, fashionably long hair, a formidable record collection, and a stash of hash. A New York "progressive" rock station recently featured an ad which began with a poem and a soft guitar in the background. "This young man expresses himself through his poetry," says the unctuous FM disc jockey voice. "We all can't be poets, but we can express ourselves in what we wear. At Barney's Men's Shop. . . ."

Two years ago, a group of us, teachers and students, started our own "free school" as a way to break out of society's mold and find our own directions. Starting the school itself was an act of liberation, an adventure. Many of us risked arrest to hand out our leaflets. Others left warm and comfortable homes for a house we hadn't yet found. The initial step, leaving the confines of public school, was the most important one. Once out of school, kids began to examine and fondle the real world—they hopped freights, picked fruit out west, traveled to the Chicago convention, camped out with the Poor People at Resurrection City. Traveling released a lot of their energy—emotion was translated into motion. "I think best at 60 miles per hour," one kid summed it up.

About half of the students, along with several older people, moved into a commune in the city, where we faced the difficulties of maintaining a household together. Living together added an important dimension to our academic discussions. We had a physical forum for our philosophy. For many of us, this was the first opportunity we had to be responsible for our actions. There was no School to blame our failures on because we were the school.

As any school, ours was transient. We didn't form a long-lasting community, but we helped people get started on their own roads. The school taught me quite a bit about myself and about teaching. When the school began, I had hoped the adolescent energy would give me strength. But I realized this was an intrusion on the kids. I noted that the most effective teachers were those who were do-ers more than teachers, who led their own lives and let the kids share. I learned spontaneity. When I left the school system,

it was as if someone threw the future into my lap and said, "Here it is now."

Kids need to see adults who are authentic, who have taken their lives into their own hands, people who have the discipline which comes from passionate involvement rather than drudgery. Kids want some assurance from the adult world that they won't become nameless humanoid cogs after they are educated. Instead, they find fearful petty bureaucrats who "measure out their lives in coffeespoons." In the next few years, our most promising students will be deserting our decaying mind factories. I hope teachers will have enough courage to leave with them.

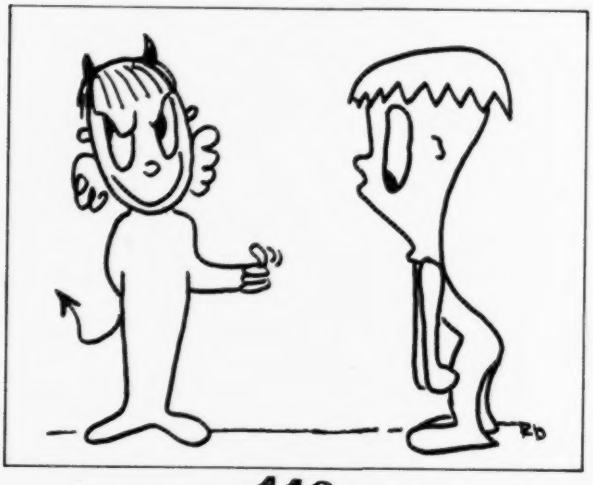
GUERILLA MANUAL*

What follow are over one hundred suggestions, sent to The Teacher Paper, *a publication edited and written by teachers. These suggestions summarize how teachers could, and do, break the stereotype of students as a minority group. Moreover, the 102 suggestions cover the span of teachers described earlier in this book.*

1. Publish and flood the city with *real* and crazy school memos.
2. Register to vote.
3. Become a voter registrar and sign up all the teachers and 18-year-olds in your building.
4. Ask your principal for a reading list of current and good education books.
5. Pencil in the word "please" on all signs in the halls (especially those forbidding things).
6. Get a copy of *Finding Community* and find yours.
7. Help the Peace Corps, through its School Partnership Program, build a school in a developing country. The cost? Between $1000 and $1500.
8. Start an east wing (or 3rd floor) newsletter so that the west wing (or 2nd floor) knows what's going on.

*From *The Teacher Paper*, Portland, Oregon. Copyright © 1971. Used by permission.

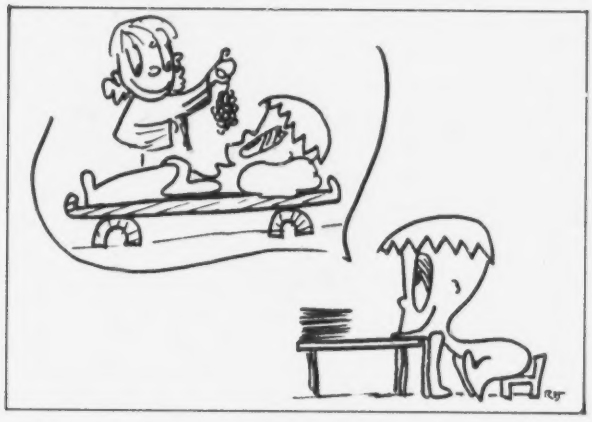
9. Start a department file (or grade & level) and put all your ditto sheets in it.
10. Have a back-to-school night for teachers so *you* can meet one another.
11. Start a teacher drop-in center.
12. Organize substitutes in your district and make sure they don't scab during teacher strikes.
13. Start a cross-age tutoring program (big kids teaching little kids).
14. Get a subscription to your local underground paper for the faculty lounge.
15. Learn all the new dances.
16. Hold Nostalgia Day for the over-30 set.
17. Practice what you teach.
18. If you're single, apply for maternity leave and see what happens.
19. Tally up the number of women in administrative jobs in your district and then turn over your findings to the Civil Rights division of the Bureau of Labor.
20. Use story books for young children in which women have roles besides mother and housewife.
21. Get your library to abolish fines for overdue books.
22. Send to the New York Civil Liberties Union (84 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. 10011) for a copy of "The Student Rights Handbook" and make sure your students get theirs.
23. Set up an appeals board for students.
24. Get parents to help you get healthful foods in the cafeteria (see Adelle Davis's *Let's Eat Right to Keep Fit*, chap. 31).



25. Find out if your district should be getting money for free lunch programs and free breakfast programs and make sure it's used.
26. Boycott Teacher-of-the-Year programs.
27. Refuse to sign in every morning. Tell your principal that if you can be trusted to work with the minds of kids, you can be trusted to show up.
28. Destroy the sign-in/sign-out sheet.
29. Counter the principal's intercom announcements with your own. Or publish an anti-bulletin on the back of the previous day's bulletin.
30. Start a recycling center and reuse all dittoes and mimeographed sheets (or sell them for waste paper).
31. Save all paper from the office and give the pile back to the principal in June with a copy of *The Waste Makers.*
32. Coin a new cliché!
33. Gag and tie up your principal during the next faculty meeting.
34. Define the role of your principal in terms of what you ask him to do for you.
35. Write behavioral objectives for the performance you expect from your principal.
36. If your administrator doesn't perform, put a contract out on him.
37. Identify the enemy.

38. Talk with the enemy.
39. Is he still your enemy?
40. Remember your principal puts his pants on one leg at a time, too.
41. Refuse to give any standardized test without asking whether the student is *willing* to take it, after you explain what the test is, what it's for, and how the results will be used.
42. Do nothing some evening and go to school rested, relaxed, and unprepared and see what happens.
43. Next time you go in to see the principal, sit on the floor.
44. Next time you go to class, sit on the floor.
45. Get *Farallones Scrapbook* and do something about your classroom and playground.
46. Compile a dictionary of edbiz jargon à la Ambrose Bierce and distribute to your friends, the press, and the *TP*.
47. If you know what you're against, decide what you're for.
48. Have an unbirthday party for the kids born in the summer.
49. Interrupt your faculty meeting with something relevant.
50. Stop using the word "relevant."
51. Ask for "improved" spaghetti in the cafeteria.
52. Invite a school board member to lunch.
53. Ask him to invite you to lunch.
54. Don't categorize people.
55. Ask for a copy of the superintendent's doctoral thesis, read it, and quote from it where appropriate.
56. Find out who the leaders are of anti-tax levy activity in your city and invite them to your classroom for the day/week/year.
57. Pay principals by the voucher system.
58. Accept money instead of appreciation for your professional services.
59. Apply for unemployment benefits each summer.
60. Start a SWAP day—Switch With a Parent—on which any kid is excused from school if a parent or other adult comes in his place.
61. Make sure a neutral party is present if a student is questioned by the police, FBI, etc.
62. Write a Declaration of Independence for teachers.
63. Have your students write a guerilla manual for underground kids.

64. Reduce the potential teacher surplus by going to ed. classes at your local college and telling them about your daily routine.
65. Write a survival guide for student teachers. . . .
66. Steal the Xerox machine and use it for your own nefarious schemes.
67. Set up a quiet room in your school for kids who want to be there to read/relax/be quiet/think/daydream/sleep.
68. Leave *The Last Whole Earth Catalogue* laying around the faculty lounge.
69. Leave TLWEC laying around your classroom.
70. Get the school to fly the Whole Earth flag or the ecology flag under the US and state flags.
71. $E = mc^2$ (and don't you forget it!).
72. Send an unknown teacher to interview the superintendent or one of his flunkies for a fictitious periodical.
73. Start a dial-a-teacher line to rival dial-a-prayer and dial-a-Bircher. Tell what's really happening.
74. If your district has a telephone recording for press releases, jam it.
75. Start an evening counseling program for alienated kids and their parents.
76. Fold, staple, spindle, and/or mutilate all IBM grading cards.
77. Refuse to give grades—write anecdotal evaluations instead.
78. Call a student who is absent on the phone in the evening to indicate your concern with his absence instead of sending a cut slip to the office.
79. Get a pop machine put in your classroom and use the profits for all those learning materials you can't get from the school.
80. Attend your class reunion and see how your friends have let themselves go.
81. Write a letter to a soldier in Vietnam.
82. Write evaluations of your administrators' work and send them to the district's personnel office at the same time teacher reports are due.
83. Cover the window in your door with reflecting paper.
84. Name the Dirty Dozen in your administration building.
85. Co-opt the right.
86. Show a movie that has no redeeming educational value.



87. Send flowers to the head secretary.
88. Put flowers in The Head.
89. Take a can of room deodorizer or a stick of incense with you on john duty.
90. Lobby for biodegradable, low-phosphate content detergents and soaps to be used in your school.
91. Find out if the district's incinerators meet the standards of your local or state air pollution authority. If not—make a stink!
92. Start mainlining ditto fluid—but watch out for purple tongue. . . .
93. Sign up your principal for _____.
94. Evaluate your school board members and hold a press conference when you release the findings.
95. Read a book.
96. That wasn't so bad—try it again.
97. Abolish the word "duty."
98. Tape record and transcribe conversations in the teachers' lounge (with or without names). Distribute copies as you wish.
99. Insist on downward accountability.
100. Replace "THINK" signs with "SCHEME."
101. Read the original "New Guerilla Manual for Underground Teachers" again.
102. Write your own damn guerilla manual.

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Note to the Administrator and/or Teacher Who Removes This Poster From the Bulletin Board:
You are the reason this manual even came into existence. Think About It.

TEACHER
STUDENT
R. Desmond

PART IV

Can Teacher and Student "Crack the Image" of Youth As a Minority?

Section 1: *Overview*

The "official" Student Locker Search Team--

CHANGES TEACHERS CAN MAKE

LARRY CUBAN

Teachers have pursued many paths in attempts to crack their images of youth as a minority, to begin building personal relationships with individual students, and to transfer what has been learned from these efforts to the daily operation of the school and classroom. The spectrum of response ranges from teachers quitting their jobs for "free" schools, as Steve Bhaerman described earlier, to school system-sponsored experiments such as Philadelphia's Parkway School or Chicago's Metro, to more modest efforts undertaken by classroom teachers such as developing a unit on "Youth As a Minority." What follows is far short of student activist demands. My aim, however, is not to out-Mau Mau activists; I'm aiming at what I consider possibilities, given the nature of the existing school system. If I am accused of being a moderate who barters real change for a political reality that is corrupt, so be it. Schools will not disappear tomorrow or next year. Teachers will not change overnight because they are condemned or exhorted.

At the school level, the chief thrust in humanizing the school has been toward breaking down bigness so that adult-youth relationships could flourish, thereby eroding the powerlessness that has defined students as a minority. I have already mentioned "free" schools. Freed from the restrictions of public schools, many have tried—with varying degrees of success—to share power with students, develop

rapport between teacher and learner, and redefine traditional roles and fur[illegible]s. But all of us cannot escape public schools; certainly, t[illegible]oor cannot.

Within large sc[illegible]l systems, the movement has been toward establishing s[illegible]all "schools without walls" where teacher-student relations are closer and the curriculum exploits urban resources. No more than a few hundred students a year enroll in each of these schools. The vast majority of young people still attend regular school.

Less ambitious but equally important have been the efforts of some systems to restructure existing large schools into mini-schools, or schools within a school. A 5,000 student high school can be broken down into ten 500 student teams, each with its own staff, space and equipment. A number of systems have followed this tack with their large buildings, recognizing that scale is an important determinant of what happens in the school.

Other schools, not having moved this far, have initiated week-long or month-long learn-ins. Mini-courses are designed by students. People are contacted to teach them—either members on the faculty or people in the community. Students choose what they wish to take and when they take it.

None of these examples is meant to suggest what the direction *must* be for all students, although my bias shows. Some schools, in my opinion not enough, are moving this way. The critical point is that teachers and students participated, in one way or another, in the conceptualization and design of these programs. While the classroom is the traditional focus of a teacher's vision, many innovative efforts to restructure the school in order to get students involved in their education have been begun by teachers. And that must continue.

Short of reorganizing the school, what can teachers do in the cla[illegible]room to give themselves an idea of the differences among students and to give students a sense of themselves as people who have some power to determine what happens to them?

- First, they can look at how the classroom is structured. Where students sit and how chairs and desks are arranged tell students nonverbally much about whether they count or not.
- Second, they can lay out the decision-making process in that classroom. There are certain areas in which teachers must exercise authority, such as turning in reports, recording grades, insuring the safety of students in the class and, in many cases, covering a certain amount of content. How each of these is to be decided can be discussed with

the class as to who can decide what and how. Some teachers are more comfortable with relinquishing the power for decisions in minor areas. Others are more comfortable with sharing decision-making power with students in more areas. Where the line is drawn depends upon the willingness of the teacher to risk himself with students and administration. Needless to add, the teacher's tolerance for student error is enormously important. Before obscuring the point I'm trying to make, let me state it clearly: the issue of authority and decision-making should become areas of discussion between teacher and student. At what point and under what conditions this discussion should take place is best left up to the individual teacher.

- Bolstering the sharing of decision-making in the classroom are the instructional methods used by the teacher. Peer teaching, independent study, small group work are devices that reinforce the nonverbal message that students are different, each having unique strengths, and that these differences can play an important part in what and how something is learned.
- Finally, content. What is taught also plays an important part in highlighting the role of the school, the status of youth, and youth sub-cultures as they are perceived by both adults and young people. Assuredly, as the curriculum has been blackened, feminized, and laborized in order to include those topics omitted from the curriculum—the same should be done with youth.

Rock and soul music, adolescence and rebellion, student activism, the nature of authority in schools, the impact of television on young people, sexual attitudes and practices, sports and their influence upon American life and the school, etc.—each of these and hundreds more topics can be linked up with traditional content easily or treated separately by English, social studies, physical education, and science teachers.

Clearly, many of these topics are and have been dealt with. And that is precisely the point: dealing is not enough. If a beginning is to be made in changing relationships, there must be a systematic inclusion of content dealing with youth—which, in one way or another, forces students back upon themselves to examine schooling, themselves, and the world.

Overcoming Obstacles

Stressing the importance of teacher action in initiating structural changes at the school level as well as in the classroom again places the burden upon already overburdened

people. Teachers have good cause to shy away from all of this. Count the reasons.

No time for meetings, research, and writing.
No space and materials to prepare lessons and units.
Supervisors often want teachers to follow the course of study.
City-wide tests and college entrance exams.
Community opposition.

Like all obstacles, they can be seen as barriers to overcome or excuses to do nothing.

Lack of time and assistance are valid reasons. Fear of constraint from supervisors is largely myth in most schools since they don't have line authority over teachers and they aren't around enough. Even the most ambitious, most aggressive supervisor or department head would not be able to visit a particular teacher's class more than once a month and that would be a generous estimate. Even were that the case, sharp teachers ingeniously prepare for such visits—the word of a supervisor's arrival spreads quickly—by prepping kids or trotting out conventional lessons. Even all of this surreptitious maneuvering may be unnecessary since more and more supervisors welcome the kinds of changes described earlier.

Actually, in most classrooms a strange, eerie freedom exists. Once the door closes, teachers do pretty much what they want to do and only the student grapevine reveals peephole glances at what happens in a class. It is precisely that scary freedom that drives teachers to frantically embrace textbooks and workbooks.

If freedom to innovate is a false issue, as I think it is, so are college boards and city-wide tests. Teaching academic and problem-solving skills over the school year helps prepare youngsters for the tests since most of these exams have become more skill-based than tests of information. And if the tests are still knowledge-based or the teacher fears that his students will do poorly, he can take a few weeks before test-time to prepare them. In either case, fear of tests need not strangle flexibility or creativity. Exams can be beaten.

The threat of sanctions from the school administration and community would be present in whatever the teacher would do that diverges from the conventional. Whether or not to do so depends entirely on how strongly the teacher feels about what he or she is doing.

Time and assistance, however, remain as the chief obstacles preventing teachers from trying to change the

school or classroom. I have no magic formulas. All I can say is that there are compelling reasons for career teachers to squeeze out that twenty-fifth hour in the day and that last ounce of energy to develop and use their imaginations in restructuring the school and classroom. If no effort is made, intellectually, teachers die.

Pride in performance and intellectual stimulation are not, as I have suggested, encouraged by the present organization of the secondary school. In fact, the structure conspires against people thinking, interacting and growing. To resist this anti-intellectual bent to the school, a teacher must get involved in change efforts or at least try some innovations in at least one class. The next step, if a principal can be persuaded, is teaching a class with a colleague; next is team planning at a departmental or grade level. The final step is proposing a mini-school of four to ten teachers with one to three hundred students.

Whatever the process, and what is recommended here is only illustrative, the teacher has to do something to avoid brain shrinkage. Inevitably, it is those pea-brained teachers who find most congenial the perception of youth as a minority.

It is sad that I must urge teachers to bear the burden for change. But the nauseous rhetoric about the teacher being the key person in the school, the agent of change in the classroom, and an essential link in the process of learning remains basically, although not operationally, true. No meaningful or substantial change will take place in schools unless teachers participate in the process. Exhortation—much like what I am doing here—and appeals to dedication have, by and large, not worked. Indeed, neither has reform by fiat. Teachers themselves must see how the structure of a school system defines youth as a lowly minority, and, in doing so, does precisely the same thing with teachers. Once teachers are aware of this process, some—perhaps many—could act upon that awareness. I hope so.

Section 2: *Viewpoints on Student-Recommended Changes*

OMBUDSMAN

WANTED:

A HUMANE EDUCATION

A Study Report on the Montgomery County (Maryland) Public School System, Part II, issued by the Montgomery County Student Alliance, February 11, 1969.

Those young people who have risked themselves and their education to reform schools should be given the last word. Too often student activists are seen as strictly negative; they are always protesting against something. What are they for? What follow are some student recommendations for meaningful change. I want to end with their suggestions, rather than mine, since we come to the problem of reform from different perspectives. If labels must be placed on what they propose and what I propose, radical and conservative would probably be appropriate. But labels are useless for they describe nothing.

Of more importance than labels is what these young people say. Their words deserve the same examination and consideration as mine.

Larry Cuban

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE

A Program for Change

(1) Establishment of an ombudsman office, responsible directly to the Board of Education, to investigate and resolve complaints from students.

If the goals and realities of the school system are ever to be brought into line with one another, it is essential that a procedure be developed to deal with instances of questionable treatment of students. Every student in county schools should be informed of the existence and purpose of the ombudsman office, and they should be made to feel free to make use of it without any fear of retaliation. It is important that the ombudsman office not be in the position of having to be defensive about the actions of school administrators and teachers. Ombudsman officials, independent of any such pressures or biases, must take a stance of neutrality and work vigorously to correct the thousands of injustices which occur every year to students who presently have no way of seeking redress.

(2) The school system must put an end to intimidation of students through abuse of college recommendations, grades, secret files and "permanent record files" by school officials.

These incidents are often hard to pin down, but students are definitely being blackmailed and intimidated—with varying degrees of subtlety—through use of these documents. Students must be given access to their own files, and must have control over who can and cannot see them. The Board of Education should issue a firm memo to all teachers, administrators and counselors in the county schools emphasizing the Board's disapproval of intimidation and anything short of straightforward dealings with students in these areas. In addition, the ombudsman office for students should work to uncover and eliminate misuse of these files and documents.

(3) Students must have an important role in the shaping and implementation of courses. They are also in an excellent position to provide meaningful feedback by providing continuous evaluation of the effectiveness, strengths and weaknesses of their classes.

The school system has "proclaimed" many policies and has made them stick. Teachers should be told that it is essential to have students discuss how courses and classes should be designed and operated. This continual re-evaluation will see to it that classes and courses of study are constantly improved and updated. County school officials determining courses of study must be willing to permit much more flexibility and originality than is presently allowed. Departmental faculty meetings, it should be made clear, are open to participation and input from students. On the individual class level the successes and failures of the class can be continually evaluated by students and teachers working together and planning together. (A sample procedure for classroom feedback is included later in this report.)

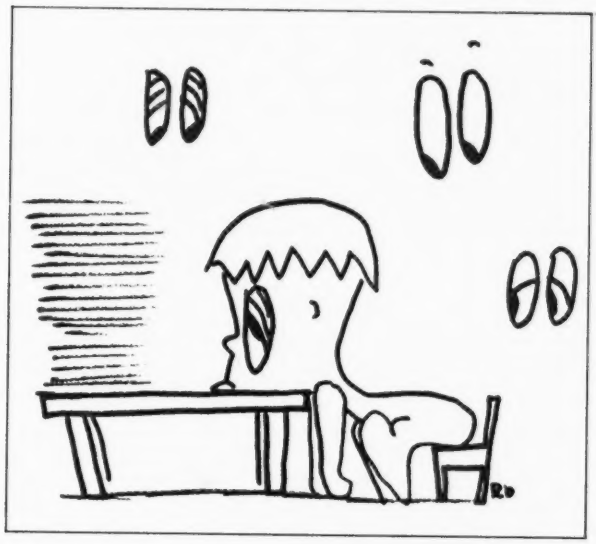
(4) Student input in teacher evaluations.

Being a good teacher involves many characteristics beyond the ability to keep accurate records, complete forms neatly, "control classes" and receive degrees from graduate school. Whether a teacher is stimulating, creates enthusiasm, is responsive to individual needs and problems of his students, can relate to students (and vice versa) and treats students with respect for their human dignity is all extremely important. Students are in the best position to pro-

vide very valuable information in these areas, and it would seem logical to construct a regular system for obtaining such feedback from students.

(5) Tension and rigidity must be eliminated from the schools. Administrators must be made to stop constantly threatening students with arbitrary, almost whimsical disciplinary actions.

This implies a change in attitudes; an elimination of the approach which says that to have students expressing themselves, verbally and through interaction, can pose a threat to the "authority" and "order" of the school system.



Students are being pressured, threatened and suspended for skipping classes, being in the halls without passes or even possession and/or distribution of literature. A system which has an elaborate policing-system network for keeping students out of the halls and for catching students who choose not to attend classes is perpetuating tension which is absolutely unnecessary, damaging to morale and totally out of place in an institution which says it seeks to encourage learning and exploration.

(6) Hiring of educators and researchers to deeply examine what effect the school system has on a student's self-concept, creativity, and desire to explore and learn.

Much of the evidence and research in this area, we feel, has already been developed (and is presently being ignored—no doubt because the findings are so very unpleasant). The study mentioned earlier, James Coleman's

Equality of Educational Opportunity, shows that self-concept and sense of control over one's own destiny is much more significant in the development of a child than the many other factors school administrators spend all their time worrying about. The forces which presently destroy a student's self-concept and feeling of control over his own fate must be eliminated immediately. We feel it is clear that this is going to have to mean elimination of the disciplinary threats and punishments prevailing throughout the school system, of the clockwork-like class schedules and tension created by school administrators and teachers who have been encouraged to emphasize and flaunt their authority.

(7) Elimination of letter grades.

This is extremely important. The use of letter grades as the basis upon which the school system is operated sets the tone and patterns of the public school experience. Its destructive effects have already been noted.

In elementary and junior high schools, grades should be abolished immediately and replaced with written evaluations by the teacher. In high school, students should simply receive credit or not receive credit for each course he has taken. In order for the students to get feedback as to how they are progressing, teachers should provide students with written and/or oral evaluations as often as necessary. Students should receive a copy of all written evaluations; a copy should be entered in students' files, but should not be released to colleges without student-parent consent.

Transition may seem rather difficult at first. But the benefits will be both immediate and increasingly apparent as students make the adjustment and begin to shake off the bad attitudes and effects of the old system. The natural joy in learning will re-emerge, and hopefully for those starting out in the system it would never be squashed in the first place.

If a complete change is made for all the schools in the county, colleges will have no choice but to consider each applicant from the county on their individual merits; they would be forced to do without grades and class rank in evaluating applicants (there are many other methods of evaluation), especially in view of the reputation Montgomery County enjoys nationally as a school system of unquestionable academic quality.

There are ways if there is the will.

(8) Teachers must be encouraged and allowed to respond to the individual needs of their students. This will have to mean fewer regulatory restrictions, more flexibility.

(9) Students must be given the ability to exercise control over what happens to them in school. Specifics: The right to transfer out of a course that is not satisfactory; the right to go on independent study at any time; the right to formulate their own goals and how they can best go about achieving them.

(10) Rigid periods now being used in county secondary schools must be replaced with shorter and flexible modules.

Kennedy High School's use of modules—short blocks of time—makes the school more flexible and open to different kinds of activities. There are now no provisions for spontaneous activities; in fact, they are absolutely prohibited. Periods which last 50 minutes or an hour are confining and should be eliminated.

(11) Students must have a right to print and distribute their own publications, and restrictions should not be set up to impose obstacles—as has been the case—but rather to provide students with an orderly means of distribution, such as tables in the halls, near doors or in the cafeteria. These requirements should apply equally to all student publications. (The fact that money is involved has been used as an argument against allowing "underground" or unsanctioned papers, but money is always also involved with sanctioned, official student newspapers.)

(12) Students have the right to have the freedom to decide what they want to print in student newspapers, literary magazines and yearbooks. Censorship by sponsors or principals, whatever the degree of subtlety, must not be allowed.

(13) Outside speakers must be given a chance to speak to students without favoritism or discrimination.

Military recruiters, for example, address assemblies at each county high school every year, but the same right has been refused to groups presenting different or opposing viewpoints. Students must make the decisions to invite speakers and arrange assemblies.

(14) The providing of the names and addresses of senior boys to the armed forces must be ended.

The county school system makes a point of its desire to protect students from businesses who get hold of mailing lists of students, yet it provides the names and addresses of senior boys in county high schools to the military. Peace and pacifist groups have been refused the same privilege. The

lists should either be available to groups which disagree with the military or should not be released at all.

(15) Relevant courses must be developed to meet student interests.

Students should be surveyed as to what courses they would like to see offered and the results should play a determining role in the direction of course offerings. Racism, urban life, suburban life, drugs, human relations, foreign policy, police-youth relations and civil liberties are a few topics in great need of curriculum development.

(16) Students should be free to arrange voluntary seminars to be held during the school day.

If schools are really to become relevant, students must be allowed—indeed encouraged—to set up discussions, hold workshops and seminars, hear speakers who are well-informed about the subjects that interest students. The students should be free to invite speakers and outside authorities to come in and give their views, without the obstacles which presently exist. Schools must come alive. The concept behind the "Experiment in Free Form Education" being tried at Whitman for one week must be integrated into the everyday functioning of the schools. With school becoming much more individualized, students should be given the flexibility of attending seminars of interest during the school day.

(17) Expansion of the range of resources.

Diversified paperback books giving different perspectives should play an important part in widening the scope of thought and exposure in the schools. Textbooks alone are just too limited in coverage and perspective.

(18) Informing students of their rights.

The school system should take the responsibility of informing each student of his rights in dealing with administrators and teachers. If the School Board agrees that students do have rights, then it must be willing to make these rights directly known to each student.

(19) Restrictions having to do with student dress must be eliminated throughout the county.

(20) County seminars in human relations, racism and progressive teaching methods should be held for teachers.

An excellent week of seminars was held by the Montgomery County Public Schools last August for about 100 county administrators. It would be very good if the same sort of program could be set up for the county's teachers.

(21) Material thoroughly exploring Negro history must be integrated into classes such as U.S. History and Problems of the 20th Century. Special training should be provided to teachers in order to make them qualified to deal with this very important aspect of American history and society.

(22) The School Board should launch an investigation of illegal searches of lockers in secondary schools for drugs and the recruiting by school officials of students to become narcotics informers.

School officials have been known to actively seek and encourage students to become drug informers. The unhealthy atmosphere which such a situation creates should be a matter of concern. We feel the School Board would agree that it is not a desirable situation to have students promoted to act as spies on other students in school. Such activities have no place in an institution of learning.

(23) School Board hearings for students.

It is important that school officials come into contact with the concerns of students. The Board could schedule hearings every two weeks at which time students would be invited to testify and voice complaints and suggestions.

(24) Student voice on School Board.

The School Board would do well to include representation of students. Every semester the School Board could supervise the election of student representatives from among county high school students, printing a special bulletin for each high school student which would give the positions of each of the students who had volunteered to run for the positions.

TOWARD A DEMOCRATIC STUDENT GOVERNMENT*

JOHN KOSKINEN, RICHARD SHADDEN, AND STUART STEFFAN

It has been quite obvious for some time that Student Council has not given experience and efficiency in the practice of democracy nor is it able to practice democracy. The Dress Code Committee's report was the latest indication of its failure to do so. The Student Council opposed the student's report and favored the administration's view. It is clear, despite all pretenses to the contrary, Student Council is not a democracy: It is a puppet government.

There is a reason for everything. The reason Student Council operates as a puppet government is that it is structured like a puppet government. In order to remedy the situation, the Fourth Estate proposes the following major changes in order for Student Council to become a democratic organization.

1. The most obvious step to take would be elimination of the administration's absolute veto. Allow the council to override an administration veto by $^2/_3$ majority vote.

2. Modify the sponsor's role to a silent observer, nothing more. This would put greater responsibility on the representatives and take away an omnipresent representative of the administration.

3. Reform the election procedures. Replace the present petition for office with a petition consisting of the candi-

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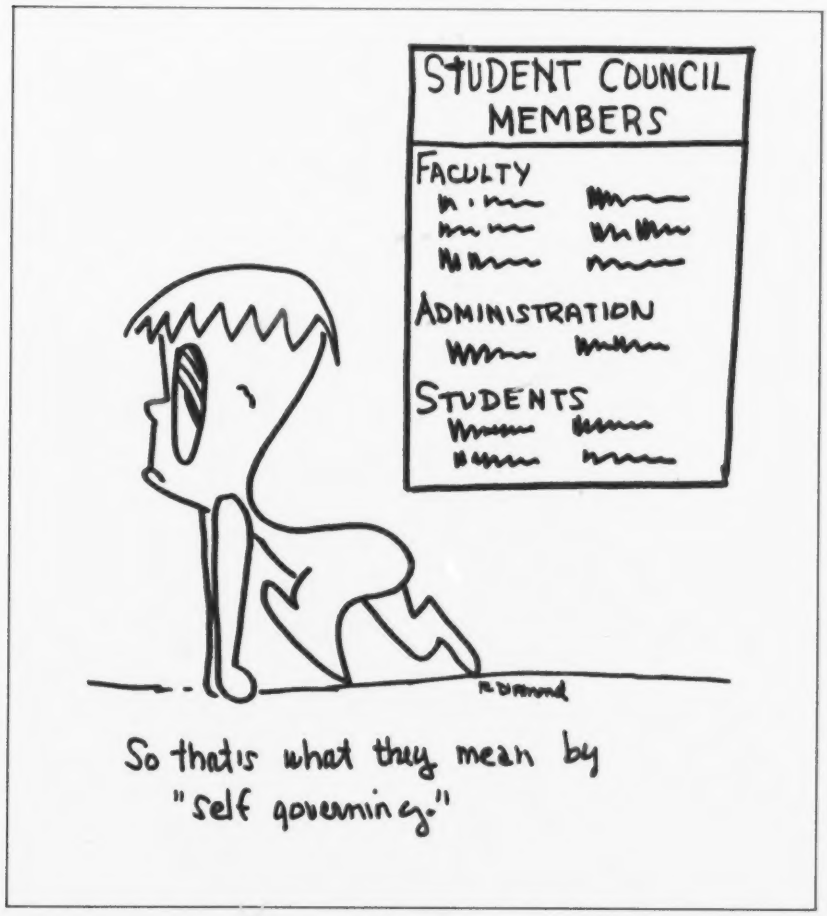
date's name, the office he seeks, and 100 student signatures. After he files this completed petition he would be placed on the primary ballot. The administration or faculty would thereby have no say in candidates.

Presently, in order to run for office, a candidate must seek approval from the Assistant Principal, Student Council Sponsor, Class Counselor, Student Council President or Vice-President, and the candidate's teachers. The students, with the exception of one, have no say in candidates that will be placed on the primary ballot. The administration, on the other hand, has the opportunity to select only those favorable to their viewpoint.

Eliminate grade average as a qualification for office. Presently, one must have a 2.0 average to run for office, thereby excluding approximately one-half of the student body.



The elections would be held in the fall rather than in the spring. Thereby, we would include the enthusiasm of the incoming freshman class, also giving them a say in who represents them and excluding the apathy of the outgoing seniors.

Results of the primary election and the final election would be published rather than kept secret and merely announcing the winner. Allow the candidate to request a recount.

Do not allow Student Council to supervise the election. Have election judges supervise the election. Election judges would be students. Student or class council members would not be eligible to be election judges. Also, all poll watchers.

4. In order to give practice in democracy it is essential that we have a system of appeals for those accused of violating regulation. Ergo, we suggest the following Student-Faculty Court:

The student-faculty court would consist of four members of the faculty and three members of the student body. One of the four faculty members would be the Student Council sponsor. The other three would be elected by the faculty. The student judges would be elected by the same process as the Student Council members. There would be no class distinction on eligibility.

It would be an appellate court. It would give the students a recourse to unreasonable administrative action. A student would fill out a necessary form indicating his reason for appeal and the administrative decision he wishes to appeal. Appeals can be denied by the court, if the court feels the case does not warrant a hearing. Suspensions and expulsions are given automatic appeals and hearings because of their severity.

With the system we have outlined above, we feel we can achieve a student democracy and increased student participation.

APPENDIX

Practical Information for Students and Teachers

1. A Student Bill of Rights
2. A Model Bill of Rights Written by Students
3. Teacher Rights and Student Rights
4. Lawyers and Legal Organizations
5. Selected Bibliography

1. A Student Bill of Rights

The following statement on student rights was formulated by the Montgomery County Region of the Maryland Association of Student Councils, and adopted by the General Assembly of that body in meetings in November, 1968, and April, 1969.

WHEREAS it is our belief that the long range goal of public education is to prepare each student so he will be able to eventually complete the transition into the general society in which he will live, and

WHEREAS it is our belief that if one is to successfully complete this transition, he must learn to accept responsibility commensurate with the rights and privileges which he would like to assume, and

WHEREAS it is our belief that the school should do all that is possible to provide an environment in which the student may exercise the rights and privileges of the society in which he will live, with its proportional amount of responsibility, since this will greatly help him to complete this general transition, and

WHEREAS it is our belief that a school, functioning as an agent for the society, should intervene only on an incident in which the repercussions would be greater than the learning situation created by allowing the student to learn by his mistakes, and

WHEREAS it is our belief that corrective action should not take place during the daily classes of a student, and

WHEREAS it is our belief that the rights of a student end when they infringe upon the rights of other individuals, but not necessarily when they act as a detriment to the student himself, since learning by experience has been proven to be the most effective teaching device, and

WHEREAS it is our belief that students be allowed to participate in deciding the policy of the school, because it has been proven that an organization is the most effective when there exists a cooperative attitude, and because it will provide an insight into "decision making" for the students, thus providing a more educational atmosphere;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we, the Montgomery County Region of the Maryland Association of Student Councils, representing the students of that county in order to improve the educational system, and thereby make it better suited to prepare each student to accept his full place in his society, request of the administrations that their decisions on matters affecting the students be in keeping with the above philosophies.

Addendum 1—Dress Codes Abolished
The effect of dress, or the manner of the grooming of one's hair or beard, upon one's performance, is not as great as the responsibility of realizing on one's own the importance of and effect of dress.

Addendum 2—
Suspension should be used as a disciplinary tool only when the student's attendance in school is potentially dangerous to the student body.

Addendum 3—
The official staff of all high school newspapers should have the sole responsibility and control over their respective publications.

Addendum 4—Literature
Students should have the right of access to an established place, preferably in the library, where they may make any literature available to other students, provided that said literature is not obscene, illegal, or in violation of Supreme Court decision. This literature should be registered with the school by the student(s) making it available.

Addendum 5—Right to form organizations
Students should be allowed to join, organize or participate in any organization(s) without reprisal from the school. Along with this, students should be allowed to join, organize or participate in any organization in the school, provided that said in-school organization does not violate any law or Supreme Court decision, and that the membership criteria are based solely on the performance of the individual in the organization.

Addendum 6—"Confidential Files"
Students should have the right to see their "confidential files" with the exception of IQ scores and psychiatric reports.

Addendum 7—Right to audit classes
A student should have the right to audit any class(es) provided scheduling and class size permit.

2. A Model Bill of Rights Written by Students

A typical student-written Bill of Rights, presented to the California State Board of Education last year by spokesmen for the California Association of Student Councils, which represents most of the high school students in the state:

FREEDOM OF SPEECH—No prohibiting of speeches or symbolic speech activities on campus unless it can be determined they will lead to violence, breaking of laws, or interference with the rights of others.

FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY—A "free speech area" for each school, available for peaceful assembly as long as the gathering does not disturb others or break laws.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND THE RIGHT OF PETITION—The right to distribute circulars and publications on campus so long as there is no interference with schoolwork or the rights of others, and provided that the publication is not libelous or obscene.

FREEDOM FROM UNREASONABLE SEARCH AND SEIZURE—No searches of students or their lockers without probable cause and the issuance of a search warrant.

FREEDOM FROM SELF-INCRIMINATION—A student shall not be compelled to be a witness against himself in campus disciplinary actions, and shall have the right to legal, parental, or guardianship representation.

FREEDOM OF APPEARANCE—Students to dress or appear as they please as long as it does not jeopardize their health and safety or the health and safety of others.

3. Teacher Rights and Student Rights

FOR TEACHERS[1]

The teacher is entitled to a life of dignity equal to the high standard of service that is justly demanded of that profession. Therefore, we hold these truths to be self-evident:

1

Teachers have the right to think freely and to express themselves openly and without fear. This includes the right to hold views contrary to the majority.

2

They shall be entitled to the free exercise of their religion. No restraint shall be put upon them in the manner, time, or place of their worship.

3

They shall have the right to take part in social, civil, and political affairs. They shall have the right, outside the classroom, to participate in political campaigns and to hold office. They may assemble peaceably and may petition any government agency, including their employers, for a redress of grievances. They shall have the same freedom in all things as other citizens.

4

The right of teachers to live in places of their own choosing, to be free of restraints in their mode of living and the use of their leisure time shall not be abridged.

5

Teaching is a profession, the right to practice which is not subject to the surrender of other human rights. No one shall be deprived of professional status, or the right to practice it, or the practice thereof in any particular position, without due process of law.

6

The right of teachers to be secure in their jobs, free from political influence or public clamor, shall be established by law. The right to teach after qualification, in the manner prescribed by law, is a property right, based upon the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

[1] As published by the American Federation of Teachers. By Carl Megel, former AFT president and presently legislative director, in collaboration with John Ligtenberg, AFT general counsel.

7

In all cases affecting the teacher's employment or professional status, a full hearing by an impartial tribunal shall be afforded with the right to full judicial review. No teacher shall be deprived of employment or professional status but for specific causes established by law having a clear relation to the competence or qualification to teach proved by the weight of the evidence. In all such cases, the teacher shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the accusing witnesses, to subpoena witnesses and papers, and the assistance of counsel. No teacher shall be called upon to answer any charge affecting his employment or professional status but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation.

8

It shall be the duty of the employer to provide culturally adequate salaries, security in illness, and adequate retirement income. The teacher has the right to such a salary as will: a) Afford a family standard of living comparable to that enjoyed by other professional people in the community; b) Make possible freely chosen professional study; c) Afford the opportunity for leisure and recreation common to our heritage.

9

No teacher shall be required under penalty of reduction of salary to pursue studies beyond those required to obtain professional status. After serving a reasonable probationary period, a teacher shall be entitled to permanent tenure terminable only for just cause. They shall be free as in other professions in the use of their own time. They shall not be required to perform extracurricular work against their will or without added compensation.

10

To equip people for modern life requires the most advanced educational methods. Therefore, the teacher is entitled to good classrooms, adequate teaching materials, teachable class size, and administrative protection and assistance in maintaining discipline.

11

These rights are based upon the proposition that the culture of a people can rise only as its teachers improve. A teaching force accorded the highest possible professional dignity is the surest guarantee that blessings of liberty will be preserved. Therefore, the possession of these rights imposes the challenge to be worthy of their enjoyment.

12

Since teachers must be free in order to teach freedom, the right to be members of organizations of their own choosing must be guaranteed. In all matters pertaining to their salaries and working conditions they shall be entitled to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to withhold services when their working conditions are unsatisfactory. They are entitled to have the schools administered by superintendents, boards, or committees which function in a democratic manner.

FOR STUDENTS[2]

WHEREAS, the United States Supreme Court in the case of Tinker vs. Des Moines Independent Community School District held that junior-high-school students could engage in First Amendment activities on school grounds during school hours, provided that such activities do not "materially disrupt classwork or involve substantial disorder or invade the rights of others," and

WHEREAS, the U.S. Court of Appeals in the case of Breen vs. Kahl, pursuant to the Tinker decision (upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court), held that "dress and grooming" of high school students is protected by the Constitution of the United States, and

WHEREAS, the same U.S. Court of Appeals in the case of Scoville vs. Board of Education of Joliet Township High School District 204 pursuant to the Tinker decision held that high school students could sell underground newspapers on school grounds, including those which are critical of school personnel and policies, and

WHEREAS, the Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers states that one of the Federation's objects is "to promote such a democratization of the schools, as will enable them better to equip their pupils to take their places in the industrial, social, and political life of the community" (Article II, Section 4, AFT Constitution), and

WHEREAS, "democratization of the schools" includes the right of students to engage in peaceful dissent without repression by administrators or teachers, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Teachers call upon its locals to adopt the following model policy:

Students shall have the right, on school grounds, to engage in conduct protected by the Constitution of the United States. Such conduct includes, but is not limited to:

1

Freedom of speech and expression, including choice of one's own dress and grooming, the wearing of buttons or emblems, or the carrying of picket signs.

2

Freedom of the press, including the right to publish and/or distribute literature and to distribute literature on school grounds.

3

Freedom of assembly and association, including the rights to join and to urge others to join any organization.

4

Freedom to petition, including the right to petition against public agencies, governing boards, and school administrations.

[2] AFT convention resolution, adopted in Pittsburgh, August, 1970.

4. Lawyers and Legal Organizations to Call

*There are few organizations that last more than a year or two that are concerned with defending student rights. The ones that last are usually professional legal groups. Jean Strouse offers an excellent summary and guide to legal organizations.**

In most big cities the Office of Economic Opportunity has Neighborhood Legal Service branches, which are generally quite good and which do handle juvenile cases. The American Civil Liberties Union has 39 local chapters, which take some test cases on civil liberties issues and may be able to refer you to a good lawyer if they can't take your case. Many law schools have special projects and groups that may be able to help you. In some areas the Public Defenders and Legal Aid Societies are excellent, but in others they are awful; you should find out about these organizations *before* you need them, so that you know whom to call immediately if you do get into legal trouble. There are very few organizations that deal specifically with the rights of people who are under twenty-one; some centers and study groups have been set up, but there are not nearly enough to handle the numerous and diverse problems of kids who come up against the law.

The following list is not exhaustive, but suggests some of the possibilities for legal advice and help.

New York

Mobilization for Youth Legal Services
O.E.O. Neighborhood Legal Services
New York Civil Liberties Union
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
National Lawyers Guild
NAACP Legal Defense Fund (may take some test cases involving minors or students who are black)
The Law Commune (Lefcourt, Garfinkle, Crain, Cohn, Sandler, and Lefcourt—handles political cases)
The School Defense Network
Project Justice (handles school suspensions in the South Bronx)
VISTA lawyers
The Vera Institute of Justice (East New York Juvenile Project)
The Citizens Committee for Children
The South Third Community Mission in Brooklyn
The Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights
The Center on Social Welfare Policy and the Law

Los Angeles

State Public Defenders
American Civil Liberties Union ("Student Complaint Center" in the Special Projects Division)
Western Poverty Law Center
Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles County

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San Francisco (Bay Area)
- San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Services Association
- Juvenile Division of the Legal Aid Society
- California Rural Legal Assistance
- Berkeley Neighborhood Legal Services
- The Movement Liberation Front
- The American Civil Liberties Union in San Francisco

Miami
- Economic Opportunity Legal Service Program

Washington, D.C.
- Neighborhood Legal Services Program
- Legal Aid Agency for the District of Columbia
- Georgetown Legal Interns
- Legal Aid Services (American University)
- Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law

Philadelphia
- Community Legal Services, Inc.

Newark
- Newark Legal Services Project

Milwaukee
- Freedom Through Equality

Chicago
- National Association of Community Counsel
- Cook County Legal Assistance Foundation, Inc.
- National Lawyers' Guild
- Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law
- Legal Aid Agency—test case division
- Patner and Karaganis (a law firm that ocassionally takes free cases)

Boston
- Harvard Legal Aid Bureau
- Harvard Center on Law and Education
- Cambridge Legal Services, Inc.
- Community Legal Assistance Office
- Boston Legal Assistance Project
- Massachusetts Law Reform Institute
- Law and Poverty Project, Boston University School of Law
- National Lawyers' Guild

New Haven
- New Haven Legal Services
- New Haven Legal Assistance
- Action Independent Movement (AIM) lawyers

5. Selected Bibliography

ANALYSIS OF YOUTH

James Coleman, ***Adolescent Society*** (Free Press, 1961).

Although over a decade old, this study of ten schools in various parts of the country deals with the different values (sports, popularity, achievement, etc.) that make up adolescent culture. In my judgment, Coleman captures with striking accuracy the value structure of current American high schools.

Committee on Adolescence, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, ***Normal Adolescence*** (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968).

A sober, restrained and careful synthesis of current psychological, biological and cultural knowledge about adolescence. An excellent antidote after reading newspaper and magazine analyses of youth. The introduction is especially important in laying out the frame of reference guiding the committee's work.

Edgar Friedenberg, ***Coming of Age in America*** (Random House, 1965).

After studying nine schools around the country, and interviewing over 200 students, the author reaches some dire conclusions. His pessimistic, acerbic and always pithy comments about youth and what school does to youth cannot be ignored by anyone seriously interested in young people.

Kenneth Keniston, ***The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society*** (Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965).

The author describes the personal, familial and cultural influences that account for alienation of youth. He studied only Harvard students but his conclusions, in my opinion, apply to the broader, white, middle-class youth population. A persuasive and sympathetic analysis of what makes alienated youth tick.

_____, ***Youth and Dissent*** (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 1971).

A series of essays stretching back to 1960 on the growth of student protest. Provocative theories mixed with insightful inferences and criticisms in addition to a modest admission of previous errors—all combine to make a most persuasive book.

J. Anthony Lukas, ***Don't Shoot—We Are Your Children*** (Random House, 1971).

Ten young Americans from different backgrounds are described in detail by a competent reporter to see what young people are about. Lukas discovers the diversity as well as perversity of youth. In doing so, he demolishes many crude stereotypes. I found this a compelling, fascinating book.

STUDENT WRITINGS

John Birmingham (ed.), ***Our Time Is Now*** (Praeger Publishers, 1970).

A school underground paper's editor describes the current state of the high school free press. Generous excerpts from over twenty newspapers give the reader a solid sense of activists' grievances. Repetitive, inevitably, but useful.

Diane Divoky (ed.), ***How Old Will You Be in 1984?*** (Avon, 1969).

The sub-title summarizes the book: "Expressions of Student Outrage from the High School Free Press." Divided into sections on the School, Students and Society. Includes one of the best student-written analyses of a suburban school system: "Wanted: a Humane Education."

Ronald Gross and Paul Osterman (eds.), ***High School*** (Simon and Schuster, 1971).

A book combining critics' evaluations of schools, alternatives to conventional high schools, and the writings of teachers and students. One of the better anthologies.

Marc Libarle and Tom Seligson (eds.), ***The High School Revolutionaries*** (Random House, 1970).

A collection of underground press excerpts and firsthand accounts of self-styled radicals. Long on rhetoric, short on analysis, but a necessary book to get the feel of what aggrieved young activists were saying in the late 1960's.

What Students Perceive, United States Commission on Civil Rights, Clearing House Publication, No. 24 (no date).

The report of a lengthy study of over 200 students of different races and classes throughout the country. Students tell of their perceptions of teachers, curricula, administration and race. The strength of this collection is that there is a mix of students committed to getting an education as well as excerpts from the familiar activist and alienated.

STUDENT RIGHTS

Robert Ackerly, ***The Reasonable Exercise of Authority*** (NASSP, 1969).

A most impressive summary of court decisions and practices set down to guide teachers and principals in responding to student unrest. Its strength is in its common sense, humane approach toward the rights of students and teachers and administrators.

American Civil Liberties Union, ***Academic Freedom in the Secondary Schools.***

A strong, comprehensive statement about teacher and student rights in schools. Citations as well as reference to other sources make this an excellent document for concerned but uninformed persons.

National Association of Secondary School Principals, ***Authority Crisis in the Schools,*** February, 1971.

A bulletin that contains outraged rantings, sober analysis of unrest, and nostrums to soothe worried administrators. There are two gems in the bulletin. See Robert Ackerly's follow-up to his pamphlet, *The Reasonable Exercise of Authority*, and the account of his son's experience in a junior high school.

New York Civil Liberties Union, ***Student Rights Handbook,*** Student Rights Project, December, 1971.

A detailed, comprehensive guide to New York City students accused, maligned, suspended or harassed by school authorities. Laced with citations as support for staunch advocacy of student rights, this handbook should be copied for school systems around the nation.

Jean Strouse, ***Up Against the Law: The Legal Rights of People Under 21*** (New American Library, 1970).

Using a question-and-answer format done in forceful, humorous manner, the book along with Michael Dorman's *Under 21* (Delacorte, 1970) should be must reading for schoolmen as well as students.

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